Alle de Brieven van / The Collected Letters of

Antoni van Leeuwenhoek

### Alle de Brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek

Uitgegeven, geïllustreerd en van aantekeningen voorzien door een Commissie van Nederlandse Geleerden.

Deel XIX (1720-1724)

Geredigeerd door DOUGLAS ANDERSON, LODEWIJK PALM en HUIB ZUIDERVAART



Dutch – *History of Science* – Web Centre (www.dwc.knaw.nl) HUYGENS INSTITUTE (KNAW) – AMSTERDAM 2024

# The Collected Letters of Antoni van Leeuwenhoek

Edited, illustrated and annotated by a Committee of Dutch scientists.

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JAMES JURIN (1679–1750)

Als secretaris van de Royal Society de laatste institutionele correspondent van VAN LEEUWENHOEK
As Secretary of the Royal Society, the last institutional correspondent of VAN LEEUWENHOEK

Olieverf op doek door / Oil on canvas by JAMES WORSDALE, 1749 The Royal Society (London, United Kingdom)

### Algemeen Voorwoord voor de Delen XVIII – XX & Voorwoord Deel XIX

General Preface to Volumes XVIII – XX & Preface Volume XIX

#### **ALGEMEEN VOORWOORD BIJ DE DELEN 18-20**

In 1920 schreef ABRAHAM SCHIERBEEK (1887-1974), een Haagse biologieleraar, een artikel over het leven en werk van ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK, een tekst die hij afsloot met de volgende oproep:

Misschien [...] kunnen de biologen van Nederland zich verenigen om na 200 jaar de dood van VAN LEEUWENHOEK te vieren, door een fonds bijeen te brengen om een systematisch geordende nieuwe uitgave van zijn werken mogelijk te maken. Ons kleine land mag zijn grote zonen eer bewijzen!

SCHIERBEEK herhaalde deze oproep meer dan een eeuw geleden, in september 1923, op een bijeenkomst in Apeldoorn van de Nederlandsche Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, tijdens de viering van de 200e sterfdag van VAN LEEUWENHOEK. In datzelfde jaar pleitte ook de Amsterdamse hoogleraar fysiologie GÉRARD ABRAHAM VAN RIJNBERK, destijds hoofdredacteur van het *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde*, voor publicatie van de brieven van VAN LEEUWENHOEK. Hij was daartoe aangemoedigd door de Engelse onderzoeker CLIFFORD DOBELL, die in Londen, in het archief van de Royal Society, een groot aantal ongepubliceerde brieven van VAN LEEUWENHOEK had gevonden.

Na 1923 duurde het door allerlei omstandigheden tot 31 januari 1931 voordat er een officiële Commissie werd ingesteld door de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen (KNAW), die tot taak had de "verzamelde geschriften" van VAN LEEUWENHOEK uit te geven. Het eerste deel van *Alle de Brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek* werd vervolgens in 1939 gepubliceerd, geredigeerd, geïllustreerd en van aantekeningen voorzien door "een Commissie van Nederlandse geleerden".

Nu, in 2024, met de gelijktijdige publicatie van de delen 18, 19 en 20, is dit project eindelijk voltooid. Al met al heeft het project *Alle de Brieven* langer geduurd dan het hele leven van VAN LEEUWENHOEK zelf. Het duurde zelfs twee keer zo lang als VAN LEEUWENHOEKs productieve periode als microscopist.

Hoe is dit mogelijk? Dat is een legitieme vraag. In 1990 concludeerde de Nederlandse wetenschapshistorica MARIAN FOURNIER na het verschijnen van deel 12 dat de Leeuwenhoekcommissie zich in 1931 een veel te moeilijke taak had gesteld. In feite had de Commissie ervoor gekozen om meerdere taken tegelijk uit te voeren: naast een complete, zorgvuldig geredigeerde editie van de tekst van alle brieven van VAN LEEUWENHOEK wilde men ook een uitputtende interpretatie van zijn werk, waarvoor een groot aantal gespecialiseerde medewerkers nodig was, die allemaal hun zegje moesten doen. Het werk van LEEUWENHOEK moest zowel in de context van de kennis van zijn tijd als in de context van de hedendaagse wetenschappelijke kennis worden geplaatst. Met andere woorden: het project vereiste een breed scala aan taalkundige, wetenschappelijke en historische annotaties, die in de praktijk bijna onmogelijk te organiseren bleken.

Tekst geparafraseerd naar 21<sup>e</sup>-eeuws Nederlands. Voor de verwijzingen zie het Engelstalige voorwoord.

#### ALGEMEEN VOORWOORD 18-20

Toch is het werk nu voltooid, en biedt het zelfs meer dan de Leeuwenhoekcommissie in 1931 voor ogen stond. Naast de bekende brieven <u>van</u> VAN LEEUWENHOEK, zijn in deze serie nu ook alle bekende brieven <u>aan</u> VAN LEEUWENHOEK te vinden. En terwijl de eerste redacteuren voornamelijk biologen en artsen waren, hebben in de loop van tijd wetenschapshistorici deze taak overgenomen.

Formeel werd de Leeuwenhoekcommissie in 1931 opgericht als werkgroep van de KNAW tijdens de voorbereidingen op het derde eeuwfeest van VAN LEEUWENHOEKS geboorte. In 1994 werd het project overgedragen aan een geesteswetenschappelijk instituut van de KNAW, het huidige Huygens Instituut. Dat instituut presenteert nu tegelijkertijd de laatste drie delen van dit project. Geheel volgens de tijdgeest zijn deze delen nu direct online – in open access – beschikbaar. Wie de tekst op papier wil hebben, heeft de mogelijkheid om deze delen in een *print-on-demand* versie aan te schaffen.

Omdat nu pas een compleet overzicht van de volledige correspondentie van VAN LEEUWENHOEKs kon worden gevormd, is besloten de nummering van alle brieven aan te passen. Het is begrijpelijk dat er in de loop van het project inconsistenties zijn geslopen door verschillende wijzigingen in het redactionele beleid. Aanvankelijk was het beleid om alleen brieven pan VAN LEEUWENHOEK op te nemen, waarbij elke brief een uniek nummer kreeg. Vanaf deel 8 begon de redactie echter ook brieven aan VAN LEEUWENHOEK toe te voegen. Deze brieven werden niet genummerd en werden gepubliceerd op de datum die in de brief zelf stond. Voor ongeveer de helft van deze brieven was dit de datum van de "Oude" Juliaanse Stijl, die tot 1752 in Engeland werd gebruikt, en voor de rest werd de datum van de "Nieuwe" Gregoriaanse Stijl gebruikt, die in delen van de Nederlandse Republiek en elders in West-Europa werd gebruikt. Vanaf deel 17 werden de brieven aan VAN LEEUWENHOEK niet alleen opgenomen, maar ook genummerd, waarmee het oude patroon werd doorbroken. De lijst van correspondentie van VAN LEEUWENHOEK bevat echter ook een aantal brieven die nog niet eerder bekend zijn geweest, en ook brieven die alleen bekend zijn van een referentie. Bovendien zijn ook enkele relevante brieven over VAN LEEUWENHOEK opgenomen, met name brieven die na het overlijden van VAN LEEUWENHOEK zijn geschreven door familieleden, vrienden en collega's. Daarom is besloten een nieuwe chronologie samen te stellen van alle correspondentie van, aan en over VAN LEEUWENHOEK. Deze beslissing impliceerde ook een nieuwe nummering. De gekozen oplossing geeft het hele corpus een uniforme doorlopende reeks nummers, van L-000 tot L-601. Deze nummers vervangen de oude. Vanaf deel 18 werden de L-nummers toegepast en ook gebruikt in de voetnootverwijzingen naar de eerdere 17 delen.

Een andere verandering betreft de opmaak van de brieven. In eerdere delen werden de Nederlandse originele brief en de Engelse vertaling naast elkaar op tegenover elkaar liggende pagina's afgedrukt. In de laatste drie delen staat eerst de originele brief in zijn geheel, gevolgd door de Engelse vertaling. Ook worden de relevante afbeeldingen binnen de tekst geplaatst en indien nodig herhaald. Ten slotte is, om de eigennamen van mensen herkenbaarder te maken, de weergave van deze namen in klein-kapitaal (kleine hoofdletters) – zoals toegepast in de eerste delen van *Alle de Brieven* – hervat.

#### **VOORWOORD BIJ DEEL 19**

Dit deel 19 van *Alle de Brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek* presenteert 37 brieven geschreven tussen januari 1720 en juni 1724. Daarvan werden 24 brieven geschreven vóór VAN LEEUWENHOEK's dood in augustus 1723, waaronder 19 brieven van VAN LEEUWENHOEK, allemaal gericht aan de Royal Society in Londen of aan diens secretaris, JAMES JURIN, en vijf brieven aan hem, allemaal van JURIN en geschreven in het Engels. Van de 15 brieven met wetenschappelijke waarnemingen hadden er negen in totaal 46 figuren. JURIN publiceerde ze alle 15 in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

Om redenen die VAN LEEUWENHOEK niet uitlegde, hervatte hij het sturen van brieven naar de Royal Society twee jaar nadat hij in 1717 wat hij zijn 'laatste observatie' noemde (L-562) schreef. Zonder enig antwoord van de Royal Society te ontvangen, stuurde hij zes brieven aan de leden. In drie ervan schreef hij over spiervezels bij verschillende dieren. In deze brieven stonden ook opmerkingen over mijten op het vlees van een walvis (L-565), vaten in hout en de structuur van een rode bloedcel (L-568), en de voeding van spiervezels door de bloedvaten van vissen (L-569). In de eerste van de andere drie brieven besprak hij het periosteum en de kanalen in het bot (L-566). Een andere brief bevatte zijn laatst gepubliceerde berekening. Hij stelde vast dat 'één oppervlak van het blad van een buxus is uitgerust met 43.022 4/7 kleine mondjes' (L-567)¹. Hij ontdekte nog steeds nieuwe dingen. Uiteindelijk, na vele jaren van proberen, ontdekte hij kleine gaatjes in de membranen van bonen en erwten, waaruit hij kon concluderen dat water door de gaten in de zaden drong als gevolg van luchtdruk (L-570).

Hoewel Jurin Edmond Halley verving als redacteur van de *Philosophical Transactions* voor vol. 31, waarvan het eerste nummer, nr. 366, gedateerd 31 december 1720 O.S., werd hij pas in november 1721 gekozen om Halley als tweede secretaris van de Society te vervangen. Op dat moment werd hij verantwoordelijk voor het onderhouden van de briefwisseling met Van Leeuwenhoek; in feite hervatte his het omdat Halley, zijn voorganger, had op geen enkele recente brieven van Van Leeuwenhoek gereageerd, ze niet gepubliceerd in *Philosophical Transactions*, of zelfs maar enkele ervan laten vertalen. Slechts vier ervan werden voorgelezen tijdens een bijeenkomst van de Society. De vorige brief die Van Leeuwenhoek acht jaar eerder in 1714 uit Londen had ontvangen van Richard Waller (L-508), werd gevolgd door veertien brieven van Van Leeuwenhoek aan de Royal Society en één aan haar president, Isaac Newton. In de eerste brief van Jurin aan Van Leeuwenhoek stelde hij zichzelf voor als de nieuwe secretaris van de Royal Society en sprak hij zijn bewondering uit voor het werk van Van Leeuwenhoek (L-571).

VAN LEEUWENHOEK schreef vervolgens nog twee brieven aan de Royal Society, de tweede vergezeld van een begeleidende brief aan JURIN. Hij besprak zijn waarnemingen van de spiervezels van verschillende dieren en onderzocht of ijzer in de loop van de tijd magnetisch werd (L-572) en besprak zijn observaties van vetdeeltjes bij schapen, lammeren, platvissen en baars (L-573). In de begeleidende brief vroeg hij om ondersteuning voor zijn

De Latijnse vertaling die naar Londen werd gestuurd: 'Sequitur unam folii buxei superficiem osculis 43022 4/7 praeditam esse.'

#### VOORWOORD BIJ DEEL 19

waarnemingen van parthenogenetische dieren en vroeg hij naar het pakket *Philosophical Transactions* dat JURIN hem had gestuurd (L-574).

In het antwoord van JURIN vroeg hij VAN LEEUWENHOEK om zijn brieven in het Latijn te laten vertalen alvorens ze te versturen, omdat veel van de brieven die hij in het Nederlands had verzonden tijdens de redactie van HALLEY onvertaald bleven. JURIN verklaarde dat hij deze eerdere brieven aan het vertalen was en gaf het verzoek van HANS SLOANE aan VAN LEEUWENHOEK door om pokkenpuisten te onderzoeken op sporen van insecten (L-575).

VAN LEEUWENHOEK gevolgd door nog twee brieven aan de Royal Society, beide vergezeld van begeleidende brieven aan JURIN. Hij besprak de voortplantingsorganen van een ooi en een foetus daarvan (L-576). In de begeleidende brief beweerde hij dat niemand die hij kende in Delft zijn brieven naar het Latijn kon vertalen. Ook betwijfelde hij of inentingen beschermen tegen pokken, waarbij hij de ervaring van zijn dochter als voorbeeld gebruikte. VAN LEEUWENHOEK beloofde onderzoek te doen naar de vraag van SLOANE of er kleine diertjes in een schurftige huid zaten. Hij beantwoordde de groeten van vertaler JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE en voegde een naschrift toe over het verzenden van toekomstige nummers van *Philosophical Transactions* via zijn neef, een Rotterdamse koopman (L-577). In de andere brief onderzocht hij eelten en concludeerde dat al het voedsel dat met de hand wordt bereid ook stukjes huid bevat (L-578). In de begeleidende brief meldde VAN LEEUWENHOEK dat hij geen 'kleine diertjes' had aangetroffen in de puisten van mensen met waterpokken (L-579).

De volgende brief van JURIN is alleen bekend door verwijzing in het antwoord van VAN LEEUWENHOEK, waarin hij opmerkte dat JURIN had geschreven dat VAN LEEUWENHOEK's ideeën over kippen- en pokken aanvaardbaar waren voor de Royal Society (L-580). VAN LEEUWENHOEK's volgende brief, verzonden in Latijnse vertaling, waarschijnlijk door HENDRICK VAN RIJN, besprak de microscopische structuur van diamanten en bergkristal (L-581).

JURIN antwoordde door VAN LEEUWENHOEK te bedanken voor zijn meest recente brief en vooral voor het al in het Latijn laten vertalen ervan. Hij presenteerde een gedetailleerde methode voor het meten van microscopisch kleine voorwerpen, zoals bloedbolletjes, en vroeg VAN LEEUWENHOEK om te proberen zijn resultaten te repliceren met behulp van die meetmethode (L-582). VAN LEEUWENHOEK antwoordde met een brief aan de Royal Society (L-583), die alleen bekend is door een verwijzing uit twee andere brieven. Het ging vergezeld van een begeleidende brief aan JURIN, in het Latijn, waarin VAN LEEUWENHOEK's microscopische waarnemingen van bloed en zijn berekeningen van de grootte van bloedbolletjes werden besproken. Hij besprak ook zijn gezondheidstoestand en vatte zijn standpunt over de rol van de eierstok bij de voortplanting samen (L-584). De volgende brief van VAN LEEUWENHOEK werd in Latijnse vertaling naar de Royal Society gestuurd, wederom waarschijnlijk door VAN RIJN. Daarin besprak VAN LEEUWENHOEK zijn microscopische waarnemingen van de structuur en textuur van het middenrif, de bron van zijn ernstige aandoening (L-585).

In de laatste brief van JURIN aan VAN LEEUWENHOEK bedankte JURIN hem voor zijn waarnemingen over de grootte van bloedbolletjes en verzocht hij deze verder te bestuderen. JURIN merkte op dat VAN LEEUWENHOEK's werk had geleid tot een nieuwe generatietheorie, maar dat anatomen zijn observaties gebruikten om de oude theorie te ondersteunen (L-586).

#### Voorwoord bij deel 19

Op zijn sterfbed in augustus 1723 vroeg VAN LEEUWENHOEK zijn vriend JOHANNES HOOGVLIET om twee korte brieven in het Latijn te vertalen en naar de Royal Society te sturen. In de eerste besprak VAN LEEUWENHOEK de overeenkomsten tussen bolletjes in bloed en de die in de droesem van wijn om JURIN's hoop om te ontdekken hoe bloedbolletjes worden gemaakt, te weerleggen. (L-587). In zijn laatste brief verdedigde VAN LEEUWENHOEK zijn opvattingen over de rol van sperma bij het voortbrengen van dieren en besprak hij zijn hartkloppingen in het middenrif. Hij gebruikte een glazen apparaat naar eigen ontwerp om deze aandoening te behandelen (L-588).

HOOGVLIET vertaalde deze twee brieven en stuurde ze naar de Royal Society. Ondertussen echter had VAN LEEUWENHOEK's predikant PETRUS GRIBIUS ook een brief gestuurd, waarin hij JURIN op de hoogte bracht van het overlijden van VAN LEEUWENHOEK. Ook kondigde hij een legaat aan van een kabinetje met 26 microscopen dat binnenkort zou worden verzonden door VAN LEEUWENHOEK's dochter MARIA (L-589). Zij, en nog een paar vrienden van VAN LEEUWENHOEK, stuurden eveneens brieven aan de Royal Society. Deze zijn in dit deel 19 opgenomen. Zo gaf HOOGVLIET daarin nadere informatie over de omstandigheden rond VAN LEEUWENHOEK's sterfbed en over diens twee laatste brieven (L-587 en L-588). Deze had HOOGVLIET zelf in het Latijn vertaald (L-590). MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK bood in een brief de Royal Society het kabinetje aan met de door haar vader gemaakte zilveren microscopen, waarbij zij beleefdom een ontvangstbevestiging verzocht (L-591). Haar brief werd door GRIBIUS verzonden met een begeleidende brief waarin hij VAN LEEUWENHOEK prees en waarin hij JURIN verzocht het legaat niet te weigeren (L-592). In een reactie op deze brieven liet JURIN aan GRIBIUS weten dat hij VAN LEEUWENHOEK's dood betreurde en dat het kabinetje in dank zou worden aanvaard (L-593).

ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH, de kleinzoon van VAN LEEUWENHOEK's oom van moederszijde JOHAN JACOBS VAN DEN BERCH, berichtte de Royal Society dat de koopman ABRAHAM EDENS het kabinet zou komen brengen. Hij voegde eraan toe dat EDENS hoopte bij die gelegenheid de kans te krijgen om de 'curiosa' van de Royal Society te zien. Hij vroeg ook dat EDENS een ontvangstbewijs (L-594) zou krijgen. President ISAAC NEWTON van de Royal Society verstrekte dat reçu inderdaad aan EDENS toen hij het kabinetje bracht (L-595).

JURIN stuurde eind 1723 nog drie brieven. Allereerst bedankte hij MARIA voor het legaat van haar vader (L-596). Ook bracht hij aan VAN DEN BERCH zijn dank over voor de veilige levering van de microscopen aan de Royal Society (L-597). Ten slotte bedankte hij ook GRIBIUS voor zijn diensten (L-598).

Tenslotte is na deze brieven ook het verslag opgenomen van het onderzoek dat kort daarna door MARTIN FOLKES is uitgevoerd naar de geschonken microscopen en de daarbij horende preparaten (L-599). Dit stuk is geplaatst in de *Philosophical Transactions*, Dl. 32, nr. 380 (31 december 1723. Oude Stijl).

De laatste twee brieven in dit deel 19 zijn geschreven door JURIN. In juni 1724 deelde hij VAN DEN BERCH mee dat een zekere Kapitein TAYLOR hem twee boeken en een zilveren schaal zou overhandigen als geschenk van de Royal Society aan MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK (L-600). Verder stuurde JURIN namens de Royal Society aan MARIA de twee meest recente delen van de *Philosophical Transactions*, waarin brieven van haar vader waren opgenomen, plus een zilveren plaat, gegraveerd met het wapen van de Royal Society en een tekst ter nagedachtenis aan haar vader (L-601). Hoewel MARIA voor dat geschenk bedankt zal hebben, is die brief niet teruggevonden.

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Het hierna volgende laatste deel 20 van *Alle de Brieven* bevat een overzicht van de gehele briefwisseling, inclusief 193 brieven die alleen bekend zijn door verwijzing in andere brieven of bronnen, te weten 26 brieven *van* VAN LEEUWENHOEK, en 167 brieven *aan* VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

De huidige redactieleden erkennen voorts dankbaar het werk van onze voorgangers. Voor dit deel dienen daarbij vooral genoemd te worden wijlen KEES (B.C.) DAMSTEEGT, die veel van de brieven in dit deel heeft getranscribeerd, en wijlen ELZE KEGEL-BRINKGREVE, die de eerste versie van enkele vertalingen in dit deel heeft gemaakt. Dank gaat ook uit naar LIZZY ENTJES, die assisteerde tijdens het redactieproces.

Amsterdam, februari 2024.

DOUGLAS ANDERSON, LODEWIJK PALM & HUIB ZUIDERVAART Huygens Instituut – KNAW

#### **GENERAL PREFACE TO THE VOLUMES 18-20**

In 1920, ABRAHAM SCHIERBEEK (1887–1974), a biology teacher from The Hague, wrote an article about the life and work of ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK, a text that he ended with the following appeal:

Perhaps [...] the biologists of the Netherlands may unite to celebrate [...] LEEUWENHOEK's death for 200 years, by raising a fund to enable a systematically arranged new edition of his works. [...] Our small country should honour its great sons!<sup>1</sup>

SCHIERBEEK repeated this call more than a century ago, in September 1923, at a meeting in Apeldoorn of the Nederlandsche Natuurhistorische Vereeniging (Dutch Natural History Association), during the celebrations of the 200th anniversary of LEEUWENHOEK's death.<sup>2</sup> That very year, the Amsterdam professor of physiology GÉRARD ABRAHAM VAN RIJNBERK, then editor-in-chief of the *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde* (Dutch Journal of Medicine), also advocated the publication of LEEUWENHOEK's letters. He had been encouraged to do so by the English researcher CLIFFORD DOBELL, who had found a large number of unpublished LEEUWENHOEK letters in London, in the archives of the Royal Society.<sup>3</sup>

After 1923, due to various circumstances, it took until 31 January 1931 before an official Commission was set up by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW), whose task was to publish LEEUWENHOEK's "collected writings". The first volume of *The Collected Letters of Antoni Leeuwenhoek* was subsequently published in 1939, edited, illustrated and annotated by "a Commission of Dutch scholars".

Now, in 2024, with the simultaneous publication of volumes 18, 19 and 20, this project is finally completed. All in all, the *Collected Letters* project lasted longer than the entire life of LEEUWENHOEK himself. It even lasted twice as long as LEEUWENHOEK's productive period as a microscopist.

How is this possible? is then a legitimate question. In 1990, the Dutch science historian MARIAN FOURNIER concluded, after the publication of volume 12, that in 1931 the Leeuwenhoek Commission had set itself far too difficult a task. In fact, the Commission had chosen to carry out several tasks at the same time: in addition to a complete, carefully edited edition of the text of all of Leeuwenhoek's letters, an exhaustive interpretation of his work was also desired, requiring a large number of specialized staff, of whom all had to have their say. Leeuwenhoek's work had to be placed both in the context of the knowledge of his time and in the context of contemporary scientific knowledge. In other words: the

A. Schierbeek, "Anthoni van Leeuwenhoek", De levende natuur (1920), 78. Reprinted in A. Schierbeek, Van Aristoleles tot Pasteur (Amsterdam, 1923), pp. 105-106. Text slightly paraphrased.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Natura (15 september 1923); Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde, 67 (1923), p. 1059.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> G.A. VAN RIJNBERK, "Anthonie Leeuwenhoek, de ontdekker der konijnencoccidiën?", Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde 67 (April 1923), 1888.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> M. FOURNIER, "Zo Leeuwenhoek, zo Leeuwenhoek-commissie", Tijdschrift voor de Geschiedenis der Geneeskunde, Wiskunde, Natuurwetenschappen en Techniek, 13 (1990), pp. 265-271.

#### GENERAL PREFACE 18-20

project required a wide range of linguistic, scientific, and historical annotations, which proved to be almost impossible to organize in practice.

Nevertheless, the work is now completed, and it offers even more than the Leeuwenhoek Commission set out to do in 1931. In addition to the known letters by LEEUWENHOEK, also all known letters to LEEUWENHOEK can now be found in this series of volumes. While the first editors were mainly biologists and physicians, as the decades progressed, historians of science have taken up the torch.

Formally, the Leeuwenhoek Commission was founded in 1931 as a working group of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) during the preparations for the third centenary of LEEUWENHOEK's birth. In 1994 the project was transferred to a humanities institute of the KNAW, currently known as the Huygens Institute. That institute is now simultaneously presenting the last three volumes of this project. In accordance with the spirit of the times, these volumes are now directly available online – in open access. Those who desire to have the text on paper have an option to obtain these volumes in a print-on-demand version.

Because only now a complete overview of LEEUWENHOEK's correspondence could be formed, it was decided to adjust the numbering scheme of all the letters. Understandably, inconsistencies crept in over the long run of the project due to various editorial policy changes. Initially, the policy was to include only letters by LEEUWENHOEK, with each letter given a unique number. From volume 8, however, the editors also began to add letters to LEEUWENHOEK. These letters were not numbered and were published using the date stated in the letter itself. For about half of these letters this date was the "Old" Julian Style date, used in England until 1752, and the rest used the "New" Gregorian Style dates, used in parts of the Dutch Republic and elsewhere in Western Europe. From volume 17 onwards, the letters to LEEUWENHOEK were not only included but numbered, breaking the old pattern. However, the list of LEEUWENHOEK's correspondence also includes a number of letters that have not been known before, and also letters that are known only from a reference. Moreover, some relevant letters about LEEUWENHOEK are also included, especially those written by relatives, friends and colleagues after LEEUWENHOEK's death. It was therefore decided to compile a new chronology of all correspondence by, to and about LEEUWENHOEK. This decision also implied a new numbering. The solution chosen gives the entire corpus a uniform continuous series of numbers, from L-000 to L-601. These numbers replace the old ones. As of volume 18, the L-numbers were applied and also were used in the footnote references to the earlier 17 volumes<sup>5</sup>.

Another change concerns the layout of the letters. In previous volumes, the Dutch original letter and the English translation were printed side-by-side on facing pages. In the final three volumes, the original letter comes first in full, followed by the English translation. Also, the relevant images are placed within the text and repeated if required. Finally, to make the proper names of people more recognizable, the display of these names in small capitals – as applied in the first volumes of the *Collected Letters* – has been resumed.

<sup>5</sup> DOUGLAS ANDERSON'S "Your most humble servant': the letters of Antony Leeuwenhoek", FEMs Microbiology Letters, vol. 369, no. 1, 2022, was published before the decision was made to add a 20th volume and a uniform numbering system.

#### PREFACE TO VOLUME 19

This volume 19 of *The Collected Letters of Antoni van Leeuwenhoek* presents 37 letters written between January 1720 and June 1724. Of them, 24 letters were written before VAN LEEUWENHOEK's death in August 1723, including 19 letters from VAN LEEUWENHOEK, all addressed to the Royal Society in London or to its secretary, JAMES JURIN, and five letters to him, all from JURIN and written in English. Of the 15 letters with scientific observations, nine of them had a total of 46 figures. JURIN published all 15 of them in *Philosophical Transactions*.

For reasons that VAN LEEUWENHOEK did not explain, he resumed sending letters to the Royal Society two years after writing what he called his "last observation" in 1717 (L-562). Without receiving any reply from the Royal Society, he sent six letters addressed to the members. In three of them, he wrote about muscle fibers in a variety of animals. These letters also had observations about mites on the flesh of a whale (L-565), vessels in wood and the structure of a red blood cell (L-568), and muscle fibres' nourishment by the blood vessels in fish (L-569). In the first of the other three letters, he discussed the periosteum and the canals in bone (L-566). Another letter contained his last published calculation. He determined that "one surface of the leaf of a box-tree is equipped with 43,022 <sup>4</sup>/<sub>7</sub> little mouths (stomata)" (L-567). He was still discovering new things. Finally, after many years of trying, he discovered little holes in the membranes of beans and peas, which let him conclude that water penetrated the seeds through the holes as a result of air pressure (L-570).

Even though JURIN replaced EDMOND HALLEY as editor of *Philosophical Transactions* for vol. 31, the first number of which, no. 366, was dated 31 December 1720 O.S., he was not elected to replace HALLEY as the Society's second secretary until November 1721. At that point, he became responsible for maintaining the correspondence with VAN LEEUWENHOEK; in fact, he resumed it because HALLEY, his predecessor, had not responded to any of VAN LEEUWENHOEK's recent letters, published them in *Philosophical Transactions*, or even had some of them translated. Only four of them were read during a meeting of the Society. The previous letter that VAN LEEUWENHOEK had received from London, eight years previously in 1714 from RICHARD WALLER (L-508), was followed by 14 letters from VAN LEEUWENHOEK to the Royal Society and one to its president, ISAAC NEWTON. In JURIN's first letter to VAN LEEUWENHOEK, he introduced himself the new secretary of the Royal Society and expressed his admiration for VAN LEEUWENHOEK's work (L-571).

VAN LEEUWENHOEK then wrote two more letters to the Royal Society, the second accompanied by a cover letter to JURIN. He discussed his observations of the muscular fibres of different animals and investigated whether iron became magnetic over time (L-572) and discussed his observations of fat particles in sheep, lamb, flatfish, and perch (L-573). In the cover letter, he asked for support for his observations of parthenogenetic animals and asked about the parcel of Philosophical Transactions that JURIN had sent him (L-574).

In JURIN's reply, he asked VAN LEEUWENHOEK to have his letters translated into Latin before sending them because many of the letters that he had sent in Dutch remained untranslated during the editorship of HALLEY. JURIN stated that he was translating these earlier letters and he passed along the request of HANS SLOANE for VAN LEEUWENHOEK to

investigate smallpox pustules for traces of insects (L-575).

VAN LEEUWENHOEK followed that with another two letters to the Royal Society, both accompanied by cover letters to JURIN. He discussed the reproductive organs of a ewe and a fetus from it (L-576). In the cover letter, he claimed that no one whom he knew in Delft could translate his letters to Latin. Also, he doubted that inoculations protect against smallpox, using his daughter's experience as an example. VAN LEEUWENHOEK promised to investigate SLOANE's question about whether there were little animals in scabrous skin. He returned the greetings of translator JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE and he added a postscript about sending future numbers of *Philosophical Transactions* via his nephew, a Rotterdam merchant (L-577). In the other letter, he examined calluses and concluded that all food that is prepared by hand also contains little pieces of skin (L-578). In the cover letter, VAN LEEUWENHOEK reported that he had not found any "little animals" in the pustules of those with chickenpox (L-579).

JURIN's next letter is known only by reference in VAN LEEUWENHOEK's reply, in which he noted that JURIN had written that VAN LEEUWENHOEK's ideas about chicken- and smallpox were acceptable to the Royal Society (L-580). VAN LEEUWENHOEK's next letter, sent in Latin translation, probably by HENDRICK VAN RIJN, discussed the microscopic structure of diamonds and rock crystal (L-581).

JURIN replied by thanking VAN LEEUWENHOEK for his most recent letter and especially for sending it already translated into Latin. He presented in detail a method for measuring microscopic objects, such as blood globules, and asked VAN LEEUWENHOEK to try to replicate his results using that measurement method (L-582). VAN LEEUWENHOEK replied with a letter to the Royal Society (L-583) known only by reference two other letters. It was accompanied by a cover letter to JURIN, in Latin, which discussed VAN LEEUWENHOEK's microscopical observations of blood and his calculations of the size of blood globules. He also discussed the state of his health and summarized his position on the role of the ovary in reproduction (L-584). VAN LEEUWENHOEK's next letter was sent to the Royal Society in Latin translation, again probably by HENDRICK VAN RIJN. In it, VAN LEEUWENHOEK discussed his microscopical observations on the structure and texture of the diaphragm, the source of his most severe ailment (L-585).

In JURIN's final letter to VAN LEEUWENHOEK, he thanked VAN LEEUWENHOEK for his observations on the size of blood globules and requested that he study them further. He remarked that VAN LEEUWENHOEK's work had led to a new theory of generation, but that anatomists were using his observations to support the old theory (L-586).

On his deathbed in August 1723, VAN LEEUWENHOEK asked his friend JOHANNES HOOGVLIET to translate two short letters into Latin and send them to the Royal Society. In the first, VAN LEEUWENHOEK discussed the similarities between globules in blood and in the lees of wine to argue against JURIN's hope to discover how blood globules were made (L-587). In his final letter, VAN LEEUWENHOEK defended his views on the role of sperm in the generation of animals and discussed his diaphragmatic palpitations. He was using a glass device of his own design to treat this ailment (L-588).

HOOGVLIET translated those letters and sent them to the Royal Society, but not before VAN LEEUWENHOEK's pastor PETRUS GRIBIUS initiated the series of 12 letters by third parties, mainly VAN LEEUWENHOEK's daughter and friends, also included in this volume 19. The majority of this posthumous written correspondence concerned the cabinet with 26

#### Preface to volume 19

microscopes that VAN LEEUWENHOEK had bequeathed to the Royal Society. GRIBIUS informed JURIN of VAN LEEUWENHOEK's death and his bequest, soon to be sent by VAN LEEUWENHOEK's daughter MARIA (L-589). HOOGVLIET informed JURIN of the deathbed circumstances surrounding the two enclosed letters (L-587 and L-588) that he had translated into Latin (L-590). In a cover letter, MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK presented the Royal Society with her father's small cabinet of hand-made silver microscopes. She asked for the favour of acknowledgment of its receipt (L-591). Her letter was sent by GRIBIUS with a letter that eulogised VAN LEEUWENHOEK and asked JURIN not to refuse the cabinet of microscopes (L-592).

JURIN responded to this batch of letters from Delft with a letter to GRIBIUS that lamented VAN LEEUWENHOEK's death and encouraged MARIA to send the cabinet (L-593). ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH, the grandson of VAN LEEUWENHOEK's maternal uncle JOHAN JACOBS VAN DEN BERCH, wrote to the Royal Society that ABRAHAM EDENS would deliver the cabinet. He added that EDENS hoped to see the "curiosities" at the Royal Society. He also asked that EDENS be given a receipt (L-594), which Royal Society president ISAAC NEWTON gave to EDENS when he delivered the cabinet (L-595). JURIN followed up in late 1723 with three letters. He thanked MARIA for sending her father's bequest (L-596). He thanked VAN DEN BERCH for the safe delivery of the cabinet to the Royal Society (L-597). Finally, he thanked GRIBIUS for his role in that delivery (L-598).

Research by MARTIN FOLKES into the microscopes in this cabinet and their attached preparations is also included in this volume (L-599). It was published in *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 32, no. 380, dated 31 December 1723 OS.

The final two letters in this volume 19 were written by JURIN. In June 1724, he notified VAN DEN BERCH that a Captain TAYLOR would deliver two books and a silver bowl to him as a present from the Royal Society to MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK (L-600). By order of the Royal Society, JURIN presented MARIA with the two most recent volumes of *Philosophical Transactions*, which contained letters by her father, and a silver plate engraved with the Society's arms in memory of her father (L-601). Even though it is likely that MARIA would have sent thanks for the gift, that letter has not been found.

The concluding volume 20 is comprised of the aforementioned overview of the entire correspondence, including 193 letters known only by reference in other letters and sources: 26 letters by VAN LEEUWENHOEK, as well as 167 letters to VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

The members of the current editorial team further gratefully acknowledge the work of our predecessors, for this volume especially the late KEES (B.C.) DAMSTEEGT, who transcribed many of the letters, and the late ELZE KEGEL-BRINKGREVE, who did the first draft of some of the translations, and of LIZZY ENTJES, who assisted during our editorial process.

Amsterdam, February 2024.

DOUGLAS ANDERSON, LODEWIJK PALM & HUIB ZUIDERVAART Huygens Institute
Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences – KNAW

Brieven L-565 – L-601

Letters L-565 – L-601

Gericht aan: de Royal Society.

Manuscript: Eigenhandige, ondertekende brief. Het manuscript bevindt zich bij de

Royal Society, Londen, MS 2109, Early Letters L4.60; 6 kwartobladzijden; 1 gravure. Aldaar ook een kopie van de brief, Letter Book Original 15.79, blz. 291, 6 blz. en een eigentijdse Engelse vertaling van de brief door dr.

SPRENGELL<sup>1</sup>, MS 2110, Early Letters L4.61; 6 foliobladzijden.

#### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1721: "Observations upon the Membranes Enclosing the Fasciculi of Fibres, into Which a Muscle is Divided. By Mr. Leeuwenhoek, F. R. S. Translated by Dr. Sprengell, F. R. S." *Philosophical Transactions* 31 (30 april 1721), nr. 367 blz. 129-134, 2 figuren. – Vrijwel volledige Engelse vertaling van de brief.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 2e en 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, blz. 143. - Nederlandse samenvatting.

#### SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief schrijft L. over de spiervezels en membranen van een koe. De membranen worden opgebouwd door zeer kleine vaten. Hij observeert ook mijten in het vlees van een walvis. L. is nu van mening dat vetbolletjes rond de spiervezels door de kleine bloedvaten worden getransporteerd. Ten slotte observeert hij de zenuwen rond de spiervezels en pezen van een koe.

#### FIGUREN:

Bij deze brief horen twee figuren. L. zond geen tekeningen, maar een gravure mee met deze brief. De figuren 1-2 zijn afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions*, nr. 367, plaat II.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

De vertaling werd pas twee jaar later voorgelezen, tijdens een bijeenkomst van de Royal Society op 7 maart 1722 O.S., nadat JAMES JURIN op 30 november 1721 tot tweede secretaris en redacteur van *Philosophical Transactions* was gekozen.

Deze brief was de 100ste brief van L. die verscheen in *Philosophical Transactions*. Omdat sommige brieven in meer dan één artikel waren opgesplitst en andere brieven waren gecombineerd, was dit het 97e artikel. Zie de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-148 van 7 juni 1684 (in deel 20) voor een lijst met andere belangrijke brieven.

ONRAD JOACHIM SPRENGELL, MD, († 1740) werd geboren in Leipzig en behaalde zijn medische graad in Angjers in 1710. Hij werd toegelaten tot het Royal College of Physicians in 1719 en werd fellow van de Royal Society in 1721. Hij werd geridderd in 1725 en publiceerde een vertaling van de Aphorisms of Hippocrates and Sentences of Celsus in 1735.

9 JANUARI 1720

BRIEF Nr. L-565

Delft in Holland den 9e jannuarij 1720.

Aan de Hoog Edele Heeren. Mijn Heeren die vande Coninkl. Societeit in London<sup>2</sup>

Hoog Edele Heeren.

Sedert mijne laaste onderdanigste schrijvens, aan UE Hoog Edele Heeren, en hadde ik geen gedagte, dat ik weder bequaamheijt soude hebben om eenige verborgene saaken te ontdekken, dog mijn handen soo nu als dan sonder bevinge sijnde, hebbe ik weder getragt, eenige na speuringe te doen, waar van ik de vrijheijt neme dese volgende ontdekkinge UE: Hoog Edele Heeren, te laten toe komen, in verwagtinge datter saaken in sullen sijn, die UE. Hoog Edele Heeren sullen behagen.

Ik hebbe<sup>3</sup> sedert eenige tijd gemist, een stukje vlees dat voor een Vergroot-glas stond, en alsoo ik begeerig was om diergelyke stukje vlees weder te hebben, soo is mij int ontstukken snijden van het vlees van een Rund, veel maal te vooren gekomen<sup>4</sup>, wanneer ik de vlees fibertiens over dwars quam te door snijden, de soo genaamde vliesen, ofte menbrane, die door de vlees fibertjens, loopen, ende selve als omwinden, en dus deselve die als in de lengte van de vlees-musculle loopen door snijden, ende wel die geene daar ze een breete hebben, ende haar in veel kleijnder (in ons oog) als spranke verspreijde<sup>5</sup>; ende nu<sup>6</sup> sedert eenige weeken waar genomen, dat de soo genaamde vliesen, bestonden uijt een onbedenkelijk groot getal van uijt nemende kleijne vaatjens, ja niet alleen dat ik deselve bekennen konde, daar de vliesen dik waren, maar ik konde dese vaatiens seer naakt<sup>7</sup> bekennen, in de vliesjens die dunder waren als een vlees fibertie is, soo dat dese soo genaamde menbrane, haar dikte niet anders sijn als te samen gestelde vaatjens, en hoe verre8 nu dese soo genaamde menbraantjens, hare holligheijt ofte openheijt hebben, dat is voor mij onnaspeurlijk, na de maal<sup>9</sup> dese dunne deelen, die ons als sprankjens voor komen, weder in soo dunne deeltjens haar uijt spreijen, en voornamentlijk, daar ze de vlees fibertjens als bekleden, dat ze door scharp siende Vergroot-glasen het gesigt, als ontwijken.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> De vorige brief van L. aan de Royal Society was Brief L-562 [XLVI] van 20 november 1717, in *Alle de Brieven*, Dl. 18. Met de huidige brief werd het contact tussen L. en de Royal Society hersteld. Zie de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-562 [XLVI] van 20 november 1717, *idem*, Dl. 18. Er was geen brief van L. uitgegeven in de *Philosophical Transactions* sinds Dl. 29, nr. 339, gedateerd 30 juni 1714. Het is niet duidelijk waarom L. het schrijven aan de Royal Society hervatte.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> De hier beginnende alinea, die in het manuscript 22 regels telt, bevat een verslag van een reeks van waarnemingen en interpretaties, die L. niet in volzinnen heeft ingedeeld. Op grond van de inhoud valt een indeling in vier passages te maken. De eerste passage vermeldt de reden van het onderzoek en het begin ervan. Zij gaat zonder duidelijke afgrenzing in de tweede over, doordat het zinsdeel *int ontstukken snijden van het vlees*, die in beide passages fungeert, maar één maal wordt verwoord (haplologie). Ter verbetering van de constructie kan de eerste passage na *neder te hebben* afgesloten worden met: 'soo hebbe ik het vlees van een Rund ontstukken gesneden'. De tweede passage kan dan beginnen met: 'Hierbij sijn (niet *is*, zoals in het hs.) mij veelmaal', enz.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> is mij (...) te vooren gekomen, is mij onder ogen gekomen, heb ik gezien.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> haar ... verspreijen, zich in een soort van zijtakjes uitspreiden (eigenlijk: 'in wat eruit ziet als zijtakjes').

<sup>6</sup> Hier eindigt de tweede en begint de derde passage. Deze eindigt met de woorden: te samen gestelde vaatjens.

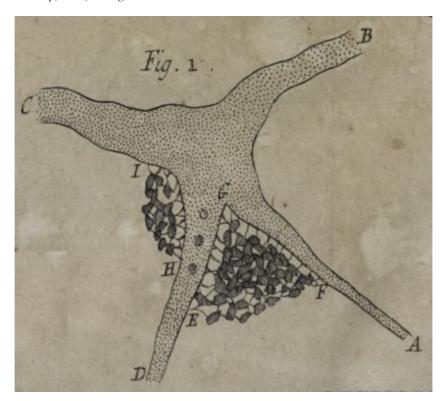
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> naakt, duidelijk.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Met deze woorden begint de vierde passage.

<sup>9</sup> na de maal, aangezien.

Dese seer kleijne vaatiens, waar uijt de soo genaamde menbrane bestaan, soo veel wij die konnen ontdekken, sijn immers geschapen, om de sappen over te voeren, dog deselve sijn soo kleijn dat<sup>10</sup> de bolletjens bloet, die het selve root maakt, door de vaatjens niet konnen gaan.

Ik hebbe om een beter bevattinge te geven, een kleijn gedeelte van soo een genaamde menbrane laten afteijkenen als hier fig: 1. met ABCD. wert aan gewesen, die nevens de omleggende vleesdeeltjens over dwars sijn doorsneden, ende om dat het voor een teijkenaar niet wel doende<sup>11</sup> was, de menigvuldige vaatjens, waar uijt soo een genaamde menbrane bestaat<sup>12</sup>, ende die soo als deselve mede over dwars sijn door sneden, om der selver kleijnheijt, maar met stipjens sijn aan gewesen.



Al hoe wel ik in mijn voor gaande brieven, de vleesfibertjens soo als deselve over dwars waren door sneden, met der selver soo genaamde menbraantjens, soo hebbe ik egter eenige seer weijnige vlees fibertiens laten uijt beelden, om of eenige dit quamen te sien, ende geen kennisse van mijn voor gaande schrijvens hadde, als hier met fig: 1. tussen EFG. ende HI. werden aan gewesen.

Dese vlees fibertiens, als deselve nat waren, hebben soo digt bij den anderen gelegen, dat de plaats tussen EFG. vervulden, ende soo mede tussen HI. maar gedroogt sijnde, wanneer deselve geteijkent wierden, waren de vlees fibertiens soo in gedroogt, dat men soo danige openinge tussen deselve siet, als hier werden aan gewezen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> In het hs. abusievelijk *datze*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> niet wel doende, niet goed doenlijk.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Hier ontbreekt het vereiste werkwoord, waarschijnlijk *na te volgen*, na te tekenen.

Als wij nu sien, hoe de vlees fibertjens int in droogen vande soo genaamde menbraantjens AFG. ende DEF. soo veel sprankjens uijt de soo genaamde menbrane, die ons als sprankjens schijnen voort te komen, als hier tussen ijder vlees fibertiens, werd aangewesen, soo moeten wij ons in beelden, dat sulks niet als op een punct wert te weeg gebragt, maar dat het de geheele lengte vande vlees fibertiens geschiet, ende dus de vlees fibertiens met de soo genaamde menbraantjens omkleet, ende dat de soo genaamde menbraantjens sig verder uijt spreijen, ende veele vlees fibertiens bekleeden, ende soo doende, alle de vleesfibertiens bekleet werden.

Nu hadde ik verscheijde stukjens vlees waar van de vlees fibertiens over dwars waren door sneden, ende alsoo aan een vande selve een stukje vlees sag leggen, met sijn tacks gewijse sprankjens, waar van de over dwars doorsneden vlees fibertjens soo danig vast lagen, als of het een takje met sijn bladerkens waren, soo hebbe ik het selve laten af teijkenen, als hier met fig: 2: KLMN. wort aangewesen, al waar met M. verbeelt is, het soo genaamde menbraantie, dat van een ander menbraantie is af gebrooken, aan welke figuurtje men kan sien, hoe veel takjens uijt soo een sprankje voort komen, en hoe veel vlees fibertiens, daar uijt omkleet werden, die wij menbraantiens noemen.



Alle dese vlees fibertjens met der selver soo genaamde menbraantiens lagen seer digt nevens den anderen, doen ik deselve van een stukje vlees was ontsnijdende, als ook doen ik het selvige op een glas plaaste, en nat gemaakt hadde, maar met het weg droogen van het water zijn de vlees fibertiens soo in gekrompen, datze haar vertoonden, als met fig: 2. wert aan gewesen, en alsoo den teijkenaar, de seer kleijne vaatjens, waar van de grootste tak met M. wert aan gewesen, mede niet als vaatjens sijn, die over dwars sijn door sneden, seer naakt konde bekennen, soo sijn deselve mede met stipjens aan gewesen.

Als wij nu gedenken, dat alle de vlees fibertiens, door de soo genaamde menbraantjens, die niet als vaatjens sijn, ende die de selve omvangen, seer naeuw aan een gekoppelt leggen, ende door het weg droogen van het nat, soo in gekrompen, dat ze dus niet van malkanderen konden separeren, dan met het ontstukken breeken vande soo genaamde menbraantjens.

Dese vlees fibertiens, met der selver zoo genaamde menbrane fig 2: KLMN. begrijp[en] soo veel spatie niet, of een sand<sup>13</sup> soude deselve konnen bedekken, en men konde aan eenige van dese vlees fibertiens, soo als ze over dwars door sneden waren, seer klaar

4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Een zandkorrel heeft een grootte van circa 0,8 mm.

bekennen, die deeltiens, waar uijt deselve waren te samen gestelt, voor soo veel het oog bereijken konde.

Dese ontdekkinge hebbe ik getragt te vervolgen, in het Vlees van een Wal-vis, waar van ik over seven ofte agt jaren 14, twee stukken van Wal-vis vlees, van ontrent een span 15 lang ende twee vingers dik hadde leggen, waar van ik het vlees aan veel schijfjens hadde gesneden, om dus ook de soo genaamde menbrane mede over dwars te door snijden, in welk doen, ik door gaans vernam, dat de over dwars gesnede vlees fibertiens van malkanderen separeerden, soo dat ik daar ontrent, mijn genoegen niet konde bereijken, ende dus mij in beelde dat de soo genaamde menbrane verrot waren.

Maar wanneer ik met een broot-mes, weder verscheijde stukken, van het vlees was af snijdende, ende deselve verwerpende, ende doen met een seer scharp mesje weder stukjens was af snijdende, hadde ik weder het voor gaande geval en als doen ontdekten ik de excrementen, ofte drek van het kleijne diertje, dat wij de Mijt noemen, en welkers drek ronde bolletjens sijn, ende waar onder eenige zoo kleijn, als ik oijt voor desen hadde gesien, ende dit vervolgden ik, en vond de drek vande Mijte door gaans, en wanneer ik met de punct van een naalde, de stoffe, daar de soo genoemde menbrane op haar dickste most wesen, uijt nam, sag ik wel hondert drek deeltjens inde verwarde seer dunne vliesjens leggen.

Na desen hebbe ik daar dese soo genaamde menbrane daar deselve dikst lagen verworpen, ende deselve door sogt daar die soo dun waren, dat ik oordeelde, dat een kleijn Mijtie schoon het eerst uijt een Eije was gekomen, daar niet soude konnen in dringen, ende daar in hebbe ik inde soo genaamde menbraantjens, de vaatjens ontdekt, ende dat soo veel, als inde soo genaamde menbrane, die tussen het vlees van een Rund sijn, ja soo naakt<sup>7</sup>, als of wij met ons bloote oogen, de puttiens in een vinger hoet komen te sien.

Na mijne ontdekkinge, vande Circulatie van het bloet, ende daar benevens dat de bloet vaatiens geen eijnden hadden<sup>16</sup>, hebbe ik in gedagten genomen, hoe dat de vet deelen gemaakt wierden, om dat ik mij niet konde in beelden, dat die uyt de bloet vaaten voort gebragt wierde ende van het bloet gescheijden waren.

Maar nu ik ontdekt hebbe<sup>17</sup> dat de soo genaamde menbrane niet en sijn, als seer kleijne vaatjes, ende dat ik vast stel dat dese vaatiens, tot geen ander eijnde geschapen sijn, als voetsel over te voeren, ende mij daar benevens in beelt, dat in dese vaatjens geen Circulatie is, ende dat in dese vaatjens een stoffe gevoert wert die wij vet noemen, ende dat bij overvloet van voetsel, dese stoffe niet konnende voort gestooten werden, de stoffe die wij Vet noemen, uijt de vaatjens gestooten wert, want al wat vet deelen wij oijt gesien hebben, leggen in ons oog in vliesjens op geslooten.

Ende dus het vet voort komende, kan ik mijn selven beter voldoen, dan de stellinge dat het vet, uijt de bloet vaatjens soude werden gestooten.

Maar hoe de vet deeltjens die uijt bolletjens bestaan, ende die bolletjens weder uijt bolletjens (soo het ons toeschijnt) gefourmeert werden, sal voor mij verhoolen blijven als ook mede waar het begin, vande vaatjens sijn die wij menbrane noemen, ende hoe dese stoffe in dese vaatjens wort ingestort.

5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Zie Brief 296 [I] L-489 van 8 november 1712, idem, Dl. 17, blz. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> span, lengtemaat van ong. 20 cm.; eigenlijk de afstand tussen duim en pink van de uitgespreide hand.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Zie Brief 110 [65] L-200 van 7 september 1688 en de hierop volgende Brief 113 [66] L-204 van 12 januari 1689, beide in *idem*, Dl. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> De hier beginnende alinea bestaat uit drie bijzinnen, elk met een of meer ondergeschikte zinnen, nl. 1 nu ik ontdekt hebbe, 2 ende dat ik vast stel; 3 ende mij daar benevens in beelt. De hoofdzin ontbreekt, maar de inhoud daarvan heeft L. geformuleerd in de volgende alinea (Ende dus ... gestooten).

Nu hadde ik een stukje vlees van een Rund, dat wel vier jaren in een lade die ik daaglijks hadde voor mij staan en in een papiertje hadde gelegen, en welk stukje vlees voor een gedeelte om kleet was met een menbrane.

Ik snede verscheijde schijfjens van dit vlees, ende te gelijk ook van de menbrane, en ik bevond dat nevens de menbrane wel sestien, ofte agtien, senuwe strengetiens lagen, die meest alle met het in droogen, soo toe gedrukt waren, dat ze wel twee maal soo lang als breet waren, waar van ik eenige seer naakt, de vaatjens die inde senuwe sijn, seer naakt konde bekennen, en welke senuwe strengetien[s], als met een half ront omvangen lagen, en af gescheijden waren van de vlees fibertjens, ende dat door een rije van trekkertjens<sup>18</sup>, die haar breete hadden van ontrent twee hair breete van een mans kinne<sup>19</sup>, ende buijten dese trekkertjens lagen de vlees fibertjens die over dwars waren door sneden, ende in<sup>20</sup> dit gedeelte van de Circul ronte lagen verscheijde openinge, die soo groot scheenen, datter als kennip zaaden<sup>21</sup> souden konnen doorgaan, die men wel voor vaaten souden aan sien, soo ze zoo veel niet bij den anderen<sup>22</sup> lagen maar gedenkende dat de senuwen, door gaans met vet deelen omset sijn, soo stelden ik vast, dat dese in mijn oog openinge geen vaaten, maar alleen vet deelen waren, gelijk ik ook bevond die ik half hadde door sneden, waar van de binne stoffe stelde ik vast door het diertje de mijt, was uijt gegeten, ende de schorsse vande vet bolletjens, hadden over gelaten, en welke schorsjens vande vet bolletjens ik tot nog toe, niet en hadde konnen ontdekken, wat devoiren ik hadde aan gewent, om dat de schorsjens vande vet bolletiens, door warmte ofte aanrakinge soo ligt wierden ontdaan, als het binnenste vande selve. Afbreekende, blijve met seer veel agtinge Hare

Hoog Edele Heere Alder Onderdanigste Dienaar

#### ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

Dese mijne ontdekkinge hebbe ik te weeg gebragt, int laaste van voorleden jaar, ende int eerste van jannuarij deses jaars op het papier gebragt, en soo daar ontrent ijets mogte gebreeken soo gelieft te gedenken, aan mijne hooge jare, die als ik van dit jaar kome te verjaren dan 88. sullen sijn, en bij gesontheijt sal ik korte<sup>23</sup> UE. Hoog Edele Heeren nog eenige van mijne ontdekkinge laten toe komen<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> trekkertjes, kleine pezen.

<sup>19</sup> Een hair van een mans kinne is circa 100 μ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> In het hs. abusievelijk *int*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> kennip zaaden, hennepzaden.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> bij den anderen, bij elkaar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> korte, binnenkort.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> De volgende brief van L. aan de Royal Society is Brief L-566 van 20 november 1720, in dit deel.

Addressed to: The Royal Society.

Manuscript: Signed autograph letter. The manuscript is to be found in London, Royal

Society, MS 2109, Early Letters L4.60; 6 quarto pages; 1 engraving. There is also preserved a copy of the letter in Letter Book Original 15.79, p. 291, 6 pages, and a contemporary English translation of the letter by Dr

SPRENGELL<sup>1</sup>, MS 2110, Early Letters L4.61; 6 folio pages.

#### PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1721: "Observations upon the Membranes Enclosing the Fasciculi of Fibres, into Which a Muscle is Divided. By Mr. Leeuwenhoek, F. R. S. Translated by Dr. Sprengell, F. R. S." *Philosophical Transactions* 31 (30 April 1721), no. 367, pp. 129-134, 2 figures. - Practically complete English translation of the letter.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 2e en 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 143. - Dutch summary.

#### SUMMARY:

In this letter, L. writes about the muscle fibres and membranes of a cow. The membranes are built up by very small vessels. He also observes mites on the flesh of a whale. L. now is of opinion that fat globules around the muscle fibres are transported through the small vessels. Finally, he observes the nerves around the muscle fibres and tendons of a cow.

#### FIGURES:

Two figures came with this letter. L. sent a single engraving instead of drawings. The figures 1-2 are printed on Plate II with no. 367 of *Philosophical Transactions*.

#### **REMARKS:**

The translation was not read until two years later, during a meeting of the Royal Society on 7 March 1722 O.S., after JAMES JURIN was elected second secretary and editor of *Philosophical Transactions* on 30 November 1721.

This letter was the 100th letter by L. that appeared in *Philosophical Transactions*. Because some letters were split into more than one article and other letters were combined, it was the 97th article. See the Remarks to Letter L-148 of 7 June 1684 (in vol. 20) for a list of other milestone letters.

ONRAD JOACHIM SPRENGELL, M.D. (d. 1740) was born in Leipzig and received his medical degree in Angjers in 1710. He was admitted to the Royal College of Physicians in 1719 and was made a fellow of the Royal Society in 1721. He was knighted in 1725 and published a translation of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates and Sentences of Celsus in 1735.

Delft in Holland, the 9th of January 1720.

To the very noble gentlemen. the gentlemen of the Royal Society in London

Very noble sirs.

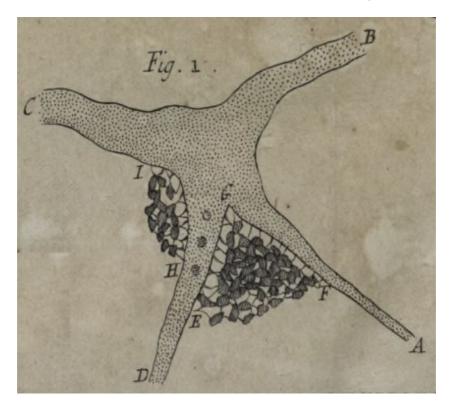
Since my last most humble letter to Your Honours<sup>2</sup>, I had not thought that I would regain the ability to discover some hidden matters, but my hands being from time to time free from a trembling, I have again tried to carry out some investigations, whence I take the liberty to send to Your Honours the following discoveries, expecting that in them there will be matters that will please Your Honours.

For some time, I could not find a little piece of flesh that had stood before a magnifying glass. Because I desired again to have such a piece of flesh, I cut the flesh of a beef cow into pieces. Many times while doing this, when I cut crosswise through the little fibres of flesh, the so-called membranes came to the fore. They run through the little fibres of flesh and wrap around them. I cut through the ones that run lengthwise through the flesh muscle, and especially at the place where they have some width and spread themselves into much smaller (in our eye) branches. And now, for a few weeks, I observed that the so-called membranes consist of an inconceivably large number of exceptionally tiny vessels. Indeed, not only could I discern them where the membranes were thick, but I could discern these vessels very clearly in the little membranes that were thinner than a little fibre of flesh is, so that the thickness of these so-called membranes consists of nothing but a combination of little vessels. And now to what extent these so-called little membranes have a cavity or opening, that is unsearchable for me, because these thin parts, which look to us like little branches, in their turn spread themselves into such thin little parts, and especially where they cover the little fibres of flesh, that they escape the sight [even] through a sharp-sighted magnifying glass.

These very tiny vessels, of which the so-called membranes consist, as far as we can discover them, are, after all, created to convey the saps, but they are so small that the little globules of blood, which make it red, cannot pass through the vessels.

In order to give a better idea, I ordered a small part of a so-called membrane to be drawn, as is shown here in Fig. 1 with ABCD, which membrane is cut through crosswise together with the surrounding parts of flesh. Because it was not really feasible for a draughtsman [accurately to depict] the manifold little vessels of which a so-called membrane consists, these vessels, so as they are also cut crosswise, are merely shown by little dots because of their minuteness.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> L.'s previous letter to the Royal Society was Letter L-562 [XLVI] of 20 November 1717, over two years earlier, in *Collected Letters*, vol. 18. With the current letter, contact between L. and the Royal Society was re-established. See the Remarks to his previous letter, Letter L-562 [XLVI] of 20 November 1717, *idem*, vol. 18. No letter of his had been published in *Philosophical Transactions* since vol. 29, no. 339, dated 30 June 1714, so it is not clear why he resumed writing to the Society.



Although in my previous letters I [had] the little fibres of flesh [drawn] as they were cut crosswise with their so-called little membranes, still I ordered some very few fibres of flesh drawn here, in case some saw this and had no knowledge of my earlier writings, as shown in Fig. 1 between EFG and HI.

When these little fibres of flesh were moist, they lay so close to one another that they filled up the space between EFG, and in the same way also between HI. But having dried when they were drawn, the fibres of flesh had so dried out that one sees such openings between them as are shown here.

Now when we see how the little fibres of flesh during the drying out of the so-called membranes AFG and DEF are coated by so many little branches from the so-called membranes, which look to us like little branches, as are shown here between each little fibres of flesh, then we must imagine that this does not occur, as it were, at a single point, but that it shoots over the entire length of the fibres of flesh. In this way, the fibres of flesh are coated by the so-called little membranes, and the so-called membranes spread farther and coat many fibres of flesh. In this way, all the little fibres of flesh are coated.

Now I had several pieces of flesh, the little fibres of which were cut through crosswise. Because I saw lying at one of them a little piece of flesh with its twig-like branches, the little flesh fibres of which, having been cut crosswise, were lying fixed in such a way, as if it were a little twig with its leaves, I had this drawn, as is shown here in Fig. 2 by KLMN. In it, the so-called little membrane is depicted with M, which has broken off from another membrane. In this figure, one may see how many twigs come forth from such a little branch, and how many little fibres of flesh are coated by this, which little branches we call membranes.

All these little fibres of flesh with their so-called membranes were lying very close to one another when I was cutting them off from a piece of flesh, as well as when I put them on a glass and moistened them. But with the drying away of the water, the little fibres of flesh shrank so much that they looked as is shown in Fig. 2. Because the draughtsman could discern the tiny vessels very clearly, the largest branch of which, shown with M, also consists of nothing but little vessels which have been cut crosswise, they are also indicated by means of little dots.



Now if we recall that all fibres of flesh are lying very closely linked together through the so-called little membranes, which are nothing but vessels, and encompass them, and that through the drying away of the moisture those fibres have shrunk so much that therefore they could not separate from one another, except only through the membranes breaking into pieces<sup>3</sup>.

These little fibres of flesh with their so-called membranes in Fig. 2 KLMN do not take up so much space that a grain of sand<sup>4</sup> could not cover them, and at some of these little fibres of flesh, so as they had been cut crosswise, one could clearly perceive the little parts from which they had been fashioned, as far as the eye was able to reach.

I tried further to pursue this discovery in the flesh of a whale, of which I had put by for seven or eight years two pieces of flesh of a whale<sup>5</sup>, of a length of approximately a span<sup>6</sup>, and two fingers thick, the flesh of which I cut into many slices, in order in this way also to cut crosswise through the so-called membranes. While doing this, I saw time and again that the fibres of flesh, having been cut crosswise, separated from one another, so that I could not succeed in this to my satisfaction, and therefore imagined that the so-called membranes had putrefied.

But when I was cutting several pieces from the flesh with a breadknife and throwing them away, and then with a very sharp little knife again was cutting off some pieces, I again had the same result. Then I discovered the excrements, or droppings, of the tiny animal that we call a mite, and the droppings of which consist of round little globules. Some among them were as tiny as I had never seen before. I carried on with this and found the droppings of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In L.'s manuscript, this dependent clause stands as a separate paragraph.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A grain of sand is about 0.8 mm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Letter 296 [I] L-489 of 8 November 1712, idem, vol. 17.

<sup>6</sup> span, a unit of measurement of about 20 cm, the distance between the thumb and little finger of an outstretched hand.

mite everywhere. When I extracted with the point of a needle the substance on the place where the membrane ought to have been thickest, I saw as many as a hundred little parts of the droppings lying within disordered and very thin little membranes.

After this, I threw away these so-called membranes on the place where they were lying most thickly and investigated the ones that were so thin that I judged that a little mite, even if it had only just emerged from its egg, would not be able to penetrate into them. In the so-called membranes, I discovered the little vessels, and as many of them at that as are to be found in the so-called membranes that are present between the [parts of] flesh of a cow, indeed, so clearly, as if we were to see with our naked eye the little pits in a thimble.

After my discovery of the circulation of the blood and, moreover, of the fact that the little blood vessels had no endings<sup>7</sup>, I considered how the parts of fat are created, because I could not believe that these were brought forth from the blood vessels and were separated from the blood.

But now that I discovered that the so-called membranes are nothing but very tiny vessels and now that I am firmly convinced that these little vessels have not been created for any other purpose than to convey nourishment and now that I believe, moreover, that no circulation takes place in these vessels and that in these vessels a substance is conveyed, which we call fat, and that when (an abundance of nourishment being present) this substance cannot be pushed along, the substance, which we call fat, is thrust out of the little vessels, for however many parts of fat we have seen at any time, they lie, as far as we can see, enclosed in little membranes.

And with the notion that the fat becomes discernible in this way, I can be better satisfied than with the hypothesis that the fat would be thrust out of the little blood vessels.

But how the fat particles that consist of globules, and the globules again of globules (as it seems to us), were formed will remain hidden from me, as well as where the beginning is of the vessels we call membranes, and how this substance is poured into these vessels.

Now I had a little piece of flesh of a cow, which had been lying, wrapped up in a piece of paper, as long as four years in a drawer that I had everyday standing before me, and which piece of flesh was partially covered by a membrane.

I cut several slices from this flesh, and simultaneously from the membrane, and I found that lying near the membrane were as many as sixteen or eighteen little nerve strands, all of which had been pressed shut during the drying to such an extent that they were as much as twice as long as broad. At some of them, I could very clearly perceive the little vessels that are present in the nerves and which nerve strands were, as it were, lying enclosed in a semicircle and were separated from the little fibres of flesh. This was caused by a row of little pullers<sup>9</sup>, the breadth of which was approximately that of two hairs of a man's chin<sup>10</sup>. On the outside of these tendons lay the little fibres of flesh that had been cut through crosswise. In this part of the circular piece lay several holes, which seemed to be so large that, so to speak, hemp seeds would be able to pass through them and which one might easily take for vessels, if they had not been lying together in such a great number. But, keeping in mind that the nerves are always encompassed by parts of fat, I concluded that these phenomena, which to my eye seemed to be holes, were no vessels but merely parts of fat. I also found some specimens that I had halfway cut through, of which I am firmly convinced that the substance

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Letter 110 [65] L-200 of 7 September 1688 and its follow-up, Letter 113 [66] L-204 of 12 January 1689, both in *idem*, vol. 8.

<sup>8</sup> This paragraph is a series of dependent clauses best read as being grammatically dependent on the following paragraph.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> L. writes trekkertjens, which here are tendons.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  A hair from a man's chin is  $100 \mu$ .

within had been eaten up by the little animal, the mite, and [which little animals] had left the rind of the little globules of fat. Up to now, I had not been able to discover these little rinds of the globules of fat, whatever attempts I had made, because the little rinds of the globules of fat are destroyed by warmth or a touch, as easily as their inner structure. Concluding, I remain with very much respect,

of Your Honours the humblest servant

#### ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

I made these discoveries towards the end of last year and put them down on paper in the beginning of January of this year. If there is something wanting there, you might kindly remember my very advanced years, which, if I come to celebrate my birthday this year, will be 88, and with health, I shall shortly send Your Honours some more of my discoveries<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> L.'s next letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-566 of 20 November 1720, in this volume.

Gericht aan: de Royal Society.

Manuscript:

Eigenhandige, ondertekende brief. Het manuscript bevindt zich bij de Royal Society, Londen, MS 2111, Early Letters L4.58; 8 kwartobladzijden; 1 gravure met 7 figuren. Aldaar ook een kopie van de brief in Letter Book Original, 15.72, 10 blz. Hierin wordt abusievelijk opgemerkt dat de brief een jaar eerder op 8 december 1720 O.S. en 11 januari 1721 O.S. is voorgelezen, waarbij de auteur zich twee maal een jaar vergist (zie de Opmerkingen hieronder). De gravure is te vinden in Letter Book Original 15.72.1, blz. 230. Zie voor een eigentijdse Engelse vertaling door JAMES JURIN, gedateerd 1720, MS 2112, Early Letters L4.59, 6 blz.

#### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1721: 'Observations upon the Bones and the Periosteum, in a Letter to the Royal Society, from Mr. Leeuwenhoek, F. R. S.' *Philosophical Transactions* 31 (31 december 1720), nr. 366, blz. 91-97, 7 figuren. – Vrijwel volledige Engelse vertaling van de brief.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE (1924): De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, blz. 143. - Nederlandse samenvatting.

#### SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief beschrijft L. zowel het botvlies en de kanalen in het bot als de cellagen en bloedvaten in het botvlies. Hij beschrijft ook bot uit de rib van een koe.

#### FIGUREN:

Zeven figuren vergezelden deze brief, allemaal op een enkele gravure. De figuren 1-7 zijn te vinden als Fig. I-VII op de plaat bij nr. 366 van de *Philosophical Transactions*.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

Deze brief werd pas een jaar later voorgelezen, tijdens de vergaderingen van de Royal Society op 8 december 1721 (O.S.) en 11 januari 1722 (O.S.). Dit nadat JAMES JURIN zijn voorganger als secretaris van de Royal Society, EDMOND HALLEY, had opgevolgd. Zie Royal Society, Journal Book, Dl. 13, blz. 153 (11 januari 1722, O.S.): "A Letter of Mr LEEUWENHOECK dated the 20th of November at Delf containing several observations made upon the Periosteum of the Bones with a Microscope, together with curious draughts of that membrane as it appears thro' the same, with the Vessels and their insertions into the substance of the Bone was read. Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was ordered a Letter of thanks".

Delft in Holland den 20e Novemb. 1720

Aan de Hoog Edele Heeren Mijn Heeren die vande Coninklijke Societeit in London.<sup>1</sup>

Hoog Edele Heeren

Mij is wel indagtig dat ik eenige jaren geleden, aan UE: Hoog Edele Heeren, mijne waarneminge ontrent het been hebbe laten toe komen², maar wat ik daar ontrent hebbe geseijt is in mijn gedagten niet, nog ik hebbe niet getragt, om sulks te weten, en alleen dese volgende waar neminge op het papier gestelt, of ik oijt³ ijets daar van hadde geschreven. Ende de aanteeken[ing]en sijn de volgende.

Ik hebbe in mijn voor gaande brief geseijt dat ik te meer maalen getragt hebbe te ontdekken hoe het zoo genaamde been-vlies, met de vaatiens van het been mogten sijn vereenigt, maar dat hadde ik tot mijn genoegen niet gesien. Sedert welke tijd, ik niet ledig hebbe gestaan, maar veeltijts mijne ontledinge inde harde beenderen soo veel mij doenlijk was, deselve ontstukken gearbeijt, en hebbe veel malen mijn selven, door Vergroot-glasen voor de oogen gestelt, dat de superfitie van het been bestaat uijt onbedenkelijke groote menigte van kleijne vaatjens, ende eenige seer weijnige die wat grooter waren, dog dese laaste als ze tot aan de superfitie van het been quamen, scheenen deselve al daar met nog een door schijnent vliesje, ofte been deeltje bekleet te sijn.

Dog het geene mij eens voor gekomen is, [is] dat ik in een op slag, vier à vijf, soo danige vaatjens in een schinkel been<sup>4</sup> ontdekte dat die soo wijd waren, datter een enkel draatje dat de zijd worm<sup>5</sup> voort brengt, daar in soude konnen gaan, ende een vande selve, soo het mij toe scheen, bestond in twee openinge, en soo veel ik konde sien, was ijder met een klap vlies<sup>6</sup> versien, op datter geen stoffe soude in gevoert werden, ende alleen geschapen waren, om de stofte uijt te voeren, en hoe menigmaal ik de oppervlakte van het been hebbe door sogt, soo sijn soo danige vaatjens, in soo een korte spatie, mij niet weer voort gekomen.

Wat nu het voor komen vande stoffe, in het soo genaamde been-vlies aan gaat, soo hebbe ik door gaans gesien, dat de spontieusagtige deelen, waar uijt de binnedeelen van het been bestaat, ende die wij Celletjens noemen, ende die de magasijnen van vet sijn.

Dese been deeltjens, die soo geschakelt aan den anderen vereenigt sijn, bestaan uijt een onbedenkelijke menigte van vaatiens, soo in lengte, als in haar ronte, ofte ter sijden hebben.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De vorige brief van L. aan de Royal Society is Brief L-565 van 9 januari 1720, in dit deel.

De enige brief voorafgaand aan deze waarin L. het beenvlies of periosteum bespreekt is Brief 90 [49] L-173 van 2 april 1686, Alle de Brieven, Dl. 6.

<sup>3</sup> of ik oijt, alsof ik ooit. Gezien het zinsverband echter is het aannemelijk dat L. bedoeld heeft 'alsof ik nooit'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> schinkelbeen, het been van de achterpoten tussen de knie en het spronggewricht.

 $<sup>^5</sup>$   $\,$  Een draad uit de cocon van een zijderups meet 8 bij 16  $\mu.$ 

<sup>6</sup> klap vlies, in één richting opengaande klep.

Dese beenagtige deeltjens schoon die met seer veele openinge sijn, [sijn]<sup>7</sup> egter seer hard, en leggen eenige met haar eijnde, en andere met haar lengte, tegen de superfitie van het been.

Uijt dese beenagtige deelen die met haar eijnden schijnen te leggen, komen uijt der selver vaatjens, en ook uijt der selver sijden daar ze niet digt aan den anderen leggen, vaatjens, die de buijteschors van het been uijt maken, ende uijt de been deeltjens, die van binnen inde lengte, tegen het uijterste van het been aan leggen, werden uijt de vaatjens, die ter sijden uijt de beendeelen voort komen gemaakt, en het is voor die geene, die geen gezigt daar van heeft te doen gelooven, de menigvuldige vaatjens, waar uijt de superfitie is te samen gestelt, die op eenige plaatse niet dikker op de soo genaamde spontieuse been deelen leijd ofte bekleet, als een dik hair van ons hooft is, en op andere plaatse wel drie ofte vier maal dikker, ende uijt dese harde stoffe, komt weder het been-vlies voort, die aan en int been is vereenigt, door de menigvuldige vaatjens uijt de been stoffe voort komende, soo dat wij door gaans niet konnen oordeelen, of het een been stoffe<sup>8</sup>, ofte het been-vlies is, na de maal ze beijde uijt onbegrijpelijke kleijne vaatiens sijn bestaande, die wij meest doorgaans over dwars komen te door snijden, ende door het Vergroot glas te beschouwe als vaatiens voor komen.

Omme een beter bevattinge te hebben, van het been, ende been-vlies soo hebbe ik een kleijn stukje van het been, daar het been-vlies aan vast is late afteijkenen, als hier met fig: 1. met ABGHIEF. werd aan gewesen, sijnde ABCDEF. een stukje been, dan of het van een Rund, of Schaap of kalf is dat en kan ik niet seggen, om dat ik seer veel stukjens been, voor Vergroot-glasen hadde staan<sup>9</sup>, dat mijn memorie niet toe draagt wat been het is, ende met BGHIE. is het soo genaamde been-vlies, sijnde BG. ofte IE. de dikte van het been-vlies, dat wij op een ander gedeelte van het been, ende ook op het selfde been, maar eenige hair breeten verder, is het been-vlies, wel twee en drie maal dikker, en gelijk<sup>10</sup> wij hier sien, dat alle de vaatjens, in het soo genaamde been-vlies, met stipjens sijn aangewesen, soo hebbe ik verscheijde malen, waar genomen dat het been-vlies, wel twee maal soo dik was, ende dat het bovenste been-vlies in gedaante van het bovenste<sup>11</sup> was verschillende, want van het bovenste gedeelte sag men niet alleen, de gaatjens of vaatjens, die over dwars ware doorsneden, maar men sag ook hoe veel vaatjens in haar lengte waren loopende, als hier fig: 2. met LOPQNM. werd aan gewesen.

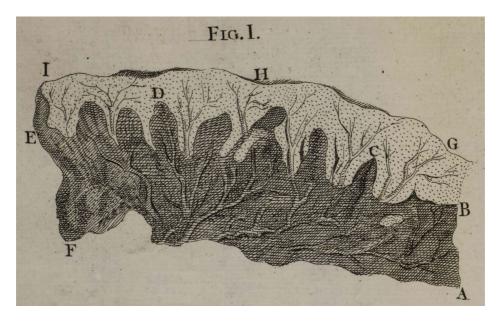
9 L. rapporteert over het gebruik van meerdere vergrootglazen eveneens in Brief L-581 van 20 november 1722 aan JAMES JURIN, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In het hs. ontbreekt het tweede *sijn*.

<sup>8</sup> de been stoffe, het bot.

gelijk, terwijl. De tegenstelling die dit woord inleidt, is die tussen twee preparaten. Het eerste vertoont beenvlies met alleen dwars doorgesneden 'vaatjes', het tweede toont beenvlies met dwars doorgesneden en in de lengte lopende 'vaatjes'. Het laatste is tweemaal zo dik als het eerste.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In plaats van *bovenste* moet hier *onderste* gelezen worden.



Soo dat nu bij mij vast staat dat het geene wij fig: 1. met BGHIE. hebbe aan gewesen, niet alleen een soo genaamde been vlies is, maar voor een gedeelte van het been selfs is, en soo wij het soo genaamde been-vlies, soo diep komen te door snijden, dat wij de been deelen die tussen ABCDEF. werden aan gewesen, soo verbeelden die been deelen inde af gesneden been deelen gaatiens, of pori, daar ze inder daat niet en bestaan in haar ommetrek, als seer kleijne vaatiens en met holligheden versien, en welke been deelen ook in haar lengte vol vaatjens sijn, ende ook soo de heldere stoffe, die tussen de been deelen in leggen, die hier tussen fig: 1. BCDF<sup>12</sup>. dikker sijn geteijkent, als ik die hebbe gesien.

En welke been deelen ik mij in beelde geschapen sijn, om geduurig in wel gestelde lighame, de stofte uijt de vaatjens dat meest vet is, uijt te storte, in het soo genaamde been vlies, ende dat het been-vlies, die stofte weder door het geheele lighaam send, ende dat door de soo genaamde vliesen.

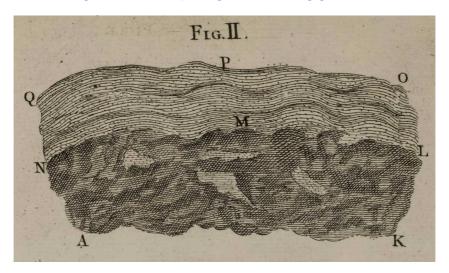
Nu sag ik weder op een andere plaats, dat veele been vaatiens, wat dieper uijt het been komende, als¹³ in bondelkens haar bij een voegden, ende deselve tot in het been vlies in gingen, ende haar weder int been vlies van een spreijden gelijk ze in het been-vlies waren te samen voegende, ende na de maal wij hier geen de minste beweginge ofte door vloeijinge en konnen gewaar worden, soo konnen wij met geen waarheijt seggen, of de sappen uijt het been, ofte in het been gevoert werden, hoe wel het mij aparenste¹⁴ toe scheen, dat de sappen uijt het been gevoert werden.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> In het hs. abusievelijk: BGDF.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> als, als het ware.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> aparenste, het waarschijnlijkste. In het hs. abusievelijk: de aparenste.

Vorders hadde ik voor een Vergroot-glas staan een stukje been, met het soo genaamde been-vlies, waar van veel vaatjens, inde lengte van het been-vlies waren door sneden en andere over dwars, die met stipjens sijn aan gewesen als fig: 2. met KLOPQNA. werd aangewesen sijnde KLMNA. het soo genaamde been, dat hoe wel het hier met geen pori vaatjens sijn aan gewesen, soo sijnde egter vol opening[e]<sup>15</sup> ende het geene met fig: 2. LOPQNM. werd aangewesen, men niet voor een vlies moet aan nemen, om dat het na mijn oordeel, daar het tegen het been aan leijt, als fig: 2. LMN. been agtig is.



Nu hadde ik een stukje been, voor een Vergroot-glas staan, daar van ik een kleijn gedeelte hadde laten afteijkenen als fig: 3. met RSWXTV. werden aan gewesen, sijnde RSTV het been, ende SWXT. het soo genaamde been-vlies dat alhier niet dikker was, als een dik hair van een Mans kinne, <sup>16</sup> daar ik op dat selfde been, een weijnig daar van af gelegen, het been vlies wel vier maal dikker sag leggen <sup>17</sup>.

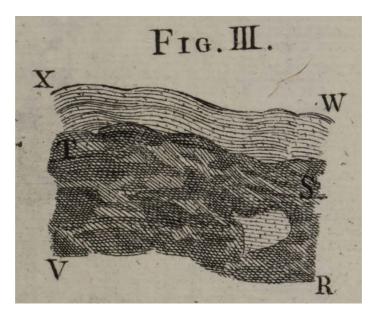
Nu hadde ik ook voor een Vergroot-glas staan, een stukje been, dat ik inde lengte van het been vlies lag, ende dus het been niet konde gesien werden, soo dat maar het vlies, ende de vlees fibertiens, die over dwars waren door sneden, ende vande been vlies deelen, als om vangen waren laten afteijkenen, als hier fig: 4. met YZCDAB. werd aan gewesen, sijnde YZAB. het been vlies, ende met ZCDA. de vlees fibertiens over dwars door sneden ende welk been was van een Ribbe van een vet Rund, en het quam mij vreemt voor, dat de Ribbe op die plaats daar ik deselve in sijn lengte was snijdende, geen vet deelen vond daar de ribbe op andere plaatsen, met vet overladen was 18.

<sup>15</sup> dat hoe wel ... opening/e], dat, hoewel het hier zonder poriën afgebeeld is, toch vol openingen is.

een hair van een mans kinne is ongeveer 0,1 mm dik.

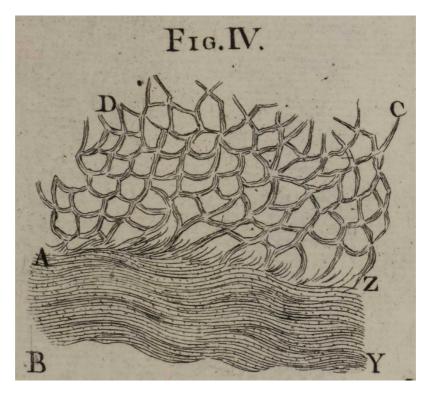
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Het beenvlies of *periosteum* is dus ongeveer 0,4 mm dik.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> In de *Philosophical Transactions* is *vet* verkeerd vertaald door *marrow*.



Met alle mijne waar neminge, die ik ontrent de beenderen, ende de bekleedinge vande selve, die men been-vliesen noemt, hebbe gedaan, sijn seer veel geweest, maar met geen volkome vergenoeginge, om dat ik mij in beelde<sup>19</sup> dat het soo genaamde been-vlies digte aan het been, als met het been vereenigt, aldaar eenige hardigheijt, ende selfs been soude sijn, ende een weijnig van het been een sagtigheijt soude aan nemen, over een komende met de buijgsaamheijt van vlees en vet-vliesen die ze eijgen sijn.

ik mij in beelde, ik van mening ben. De hierop volgende zin tot het eind van de alinea is moeizaam geredigeerd. Hij kan in nauwe aansluiting bij de tekst als volgt opgevat worden: 'dat het zogenaamde beenvlies dicht tegen het been aan, waar het als het ware vast met het been verbonden was, enige hardheid zou bezitten en zelfs been(achtig) zou zijn, en een eindje van het been af een zachtheid zou aannemen, overeenkomende met de buigzaamheid die vlees- en vetvliezen eigen is.'



Nu hadde ik vier stukjens van Ribbens van een vet Rund, dat ik wel twee maanden geleden, vande Ribbens laten af hakken, en seer droog waren geworden.

Ik trok het soo genaamde been-vlies van een stuk van een ribbe, dat boven mijn verwagtinge seer stark, met het been was vereenigt, en ik sag, dat veele deeltjens van het been-vlies, aan het been waren vast gebleven.

Dit dede ik met insigte, om te vernemen, of geen kleijne stukjens vande oppervlakte van het been, dat op verre na soo stark niet en is, als de been deelen die meer binnewaarts leggen na te speuren.

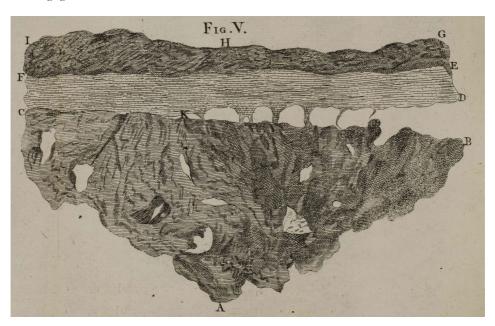
Hier op snede ik soo dunne schibbens als het mij doenlijk was vande lengte, ofte over dwars vande ribben, in welk doen, twee van mijne goede messen, daar ik veel dienst van hadde gehad, met scharen<sup>20</sup> maakte.

Dese af gesnedene kleijne been deelen, stelde ik voor Vergroot-glasen, en ik gaf een Vergroot-glas inde hand vande konst schilder, die ik veel jaren hebbe gebruijkt inde saken die ik oordeelde af te teijkenen<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> scharen, schaarden, inkervingen in de snede van het mes.

Volgens Bottet's Beschryving der Stadt Delft, blz. 791, was WILLEM VAN DER WILT deze tekenaar. 'Van hem zyn ook meest alle de platen in het vermaarde werk van den heer Leeuwenhoek, door vergrootglazen wonderlyk na het leven geteikent.' Zie ook FRANSEN, 'Antoni van Leeuwenhoek. His Images and Draughtsmen'.

Fig: 5. ABKC. vertoont een klein stukje van een ribbe van een rund, dat bij mij over dwars, ende dat soo dun als het mij doenlijk was af gesneden, en waar aan nog een gedeelte van het soo genaamde been-vlies, aan het been was vereenigt, als van K tot C. werd aan gewesen, ende met BKD. werd aan gewesen, hoe verre het been-vlies van het been was af geschuurt, ende nog op eenige plaatze het been-vlies aan het been, door eenige uijt gerekte vaaten is vereenigt geweest.



Inde geseijde fig: werd met DEFC.<sup>22</sup> aan gewesen het been vlies; ende het geene met EGHIF. werd aan gewesen, was als dubbelt om gekrult, soo dat ik niet wel konde oordeelen wat het selve was, hoe wel ik het voor een vlies aan sag.

Ook hadde ik verscheijde seer dunne af gesnedene stukjens been soo van een ribbe van een rund als van een kalf, daar het gantse been-vlies, ofte wel soo veel als het doenlijk was, af-geschuurt, alleen met een kromme linie [als fig: 6.] LMN. aan gewesen.<sup>23</sup>

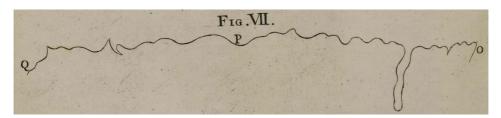


<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> L. schreef in het hs. DEFG.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> In het hs. heeft L. het cijfernummer weggelaten.

Fig: 7. werd met OPQ. een tweede kromme linie aan gewesen, dat de ommetrek is van het been, waar van het been vlies was af geschuurt, soo dat de vaste vereeninge die het been-vlies met het been heeft, selfs het been beelt ik mij in, eenig sints quest of breekt, en wel meest als het been in groote is toe nemende.

Ook is mij wel te vooren gekomen, dat inde mergschinkel van een Rund, vaatiens inde lengte van het been waren loopende die ik voor bloet vaatiens oordeelde.



Als wij nu bevinden, dat in alle beenderen, die wij met groote op merkinge hebben beschout, door gaans bevinden, dat deselve uijt onbedenkelijke kleijne vaatjens voor een groot gedeelte bestaan, die van binnen, uijt de holligheijt, ofte spontieusheijt, voort komen, ende tot inde oppervlakt[e] niet eijndigen, maar over gaan tot in het soo genaamde been vlies, ende verder door het lighaam, ja selfs tot inde uijterste deelen van het lighaam, ende aldaar het overschot van het vet, weder uijt storten, int kort, wij konnen in een wel gestelt lighaam, vast stellen, datter een geduijrige in stortinge van vet inde beenderen geschiet, ofte die stoffe waar uijt het vet voort komt, ende dat het vet weder door de beenderen het geheele lighaam door gevoert<sup>24</sup>, ende uijt gestooten werd, ja selfs tot uijt het uijterste vande vingers, en waar aan wij dat klaarder konnen sien, als wij een schoon geschuurde tinne schotel voor ons hebben, ende daar op het voorste van onze vingers leggen, soo sal na het gemene seggen, de schotel beslagen wesen, maar het sal waarlijk niet als vet deelen sijn, die uijt onse vingers is gestooten, want schoon eenige wateragtige vogtigheijt, met ende benevens de vet deelen, uijt onse vingers wierde gestooten, soo sal aanstonts die wateragtige vogtigheijt, weg wasemen, ende het vet sal op het tin blijven leggen.

Dus verre sijn mijne aanteekeninge en waarneminge die ik voor dees tijd UE: Hoog Edele Heeren hebbe goet gedagt mede te deelen, en ik sal na seer hooge agtinge blijven.<sup>25</sup>

Hare hoog Edele Heeren Onderdanige Dienaar

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>25</sup> De volgende brief van L. aan de Royal Society is Brief L-567 van 15 januari 1721, in dit deel.

<sup>24</sup> In het hs. gevoort.

Addressed to: The Royal Society.

Manuscript: Signed, autograph letter. The manuscript is to be found in London, Royal

Society, MS 2111, Early Letters L4.58; 8 quarto pages; 1 engraving with 7 figures. There is also preserved a copy of the letter in Letter Book Original 15.72, 10 pages. It notes erroneously that the letter was read a year earlier on 8 December 1720 (O.S.) and 11 January 1721 (O.S.), where the author is mistaken by a year twice (see the Remarks below). The engraving with the figures is found in Letter Book Original 15.72.1, p. 230. For a contemporary English translation by JAMES JURIN, dated 1720, see: MS

2112, Early Letters L4.59, 6 pages.

## PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1720: "Observations upon the Bones and the Periosteum, in a Letter to the Royal Society, from Mr. Leeuwenhoek, F. R. S." *Philosophical Transactions* 31 (31 December 1720), no. 366, pp. 91-97, 7 figures. - Practically complete English translation of the letter.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE (1924): De 2e en 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 143. - Dutch summary.

#### SUMMARY:

In this letter, L. describes the *periosteum* and the canals in bone as well as the cell layers and blood vessels in the *periosteum*. He also describes bone from the rib of a cow.

## FIGURES:

Seven figures accompanied this letter, all on a single engraving. The figures 1-7 are to be found as Fig. I-VII on the plate with no. 366 of the *Philosophical Transactions*.

# **REMARKS:**

This letter was not read until a year later, at the meetings of the Royal Society on 8 December 1721 (O.S.) and 11 January 1722 (O.S.). This after JAMES JURIN had succeeded his predecessor as Secretary of the Royal Society, EDMOND HALLEY. See Royal Society, Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 153 for 11 January 1722 (O.S.): "A Letter of Mr LEEUWENHOECK dated the 20th of November at Delf containing several observations made upon the Periosteum of the Bones with a Microscope, together with curious draughts of that membrane as it appears thro' the same, with the Vessels and their insertions into the substance of the Bone was read. Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was ordered a Letter of thanks".

Delft in Holland, the 20th of November 17201

To the very noble sirs the gentlemen of the Royal Society in London.

Very noble sirs

I am well aware that some years ago I sent to you, very noble sirs, my observations with regard to the bone, but I do not remember what I said with regard to that, nor have I attempted either to recall it, and merely put these following observations on paper, as if I had never written anything about this. And the observations are the following.

In my previous letter, I said that I have attempted several times to discover how the so-called bone membrane<sup>2</sup> might be attached to the little vessels in the bone, but I had not observed this to my satisfaction. Since that time, I have not been idle, but continued my dissection of the hard bones many times, and, as far as it was feasible for me, laboriously cut off some pieces of them. I have many times demonstrated to myself through magnifying glasses that the surface of the bone consists of an inconceivably large multitude of little vessels, as well as some very few that were somewhat larger. But when the latter emerged on the surface of the bone, there they still seemed to be covered with a transparent little membrane, or part of the bone.

But a thing that happened to me once is that in a shin bone I discovered at a single glance four or five little vessels, which were so wide that a single thread, as fashioned by the silkworm<sup>3</sup>, would be able to pass into them. One of them, as it seemed to me, had two openings, and as far as I could see, each of the latter was equipped with a valve in order that no substance would be introduced in it, and which were created only to eliminate the substance. However many times I have scrutinized the surface of the bone, I have never set eyes on vessels of this kind in such a small space.

Now with regard to the occurrence of the substance in the so-called bone membrane, I have seen time and again that the interior parts of the bone consist of spongelike parts, which we call little cells, and which are the storerooms of fat.

These little bone parts, which are united by being linked together, consist of an inconceivable multitude of little vessels, which they have both lengthwise and in their diameter, or at their sides.

Although these bony little parts have many openings, yet they are very hard, and are lying against the surface of the bone, some at their ends and others along their lengths.

Little vessels come forth from those bony parts that seem to lie [against the surface of the bone] at their ends. Also, little vessels that make up the outer rind of the bone come forth from their sides on the places where they are not lying close to one another. Out of the little bone parts lying within along their lengths against the outside of the bone are fashioned the little vessels that come forth from the sides of the bone parts. Anyone who does not actually see it cannot be made to believe the great number of little vessels of which the surface is composed and which in some places lie on the so-called spongelike parts, or cover them, in a thickness not greater than a thick hair from our head. In other places, it is as much as three or four times thicker. From this hard substance, the bone membrane comes forth in

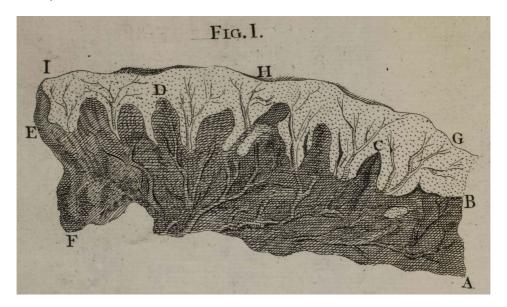
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> L.'s previous letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-565 of 9 January 1720, in this volume.

The only letter prior to this one in which L. discusses the periosteum is Letter 90 [49] L-173 of 2 April 1686, Collected Letters, vol. 6.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  A thread from the cocoon of a silkworm measures 8 by 16  $\mu$ .

its turn, which is attached to and in the bone through the manifold little vessels that come forth from the bony substance. Usually, we cannot decide whether it is a bony substance or the bone membrane because they both consist of incomprehensibly tiny vessels, which we mostly cut through crosswise, and which, when observed through the magnifying glass, appear to us as little vessels.

To give a better idea of the bone and the bone membrane, I had a small piece of the bone drawn, to which the bone membrane is attached, as is shown here in Fig. 1 with ABGHIEF. ABCDEF is a piece of bone, but I cannot say whether it is from a cow, or a sheep, or a calf, because I had very many pieces of bone standing before magnifying glasses<sup>4</sup>, so that my memory does not inform me what kind of bone it is. With BGHIE, the so-called bone membrane is shown, BG or IE being the thickness of the bone membrane. But on another part of the bone, and also on the same bone, but a few hairbreadths farther on, the bone membrane is as much as two and three times thicker. Whereas we see here that all little vessels in the so-called bone membrane are shown by means of little dots, I have several times seen that the bone membrane was as much as twice as thick, and that the upper part of the bone membrane was different as to structure from the nethermost part. At the upper part, one saw not only the little holes or vessels that had been cut through crosswise, but one also saw how many little vessels were running lengthwise, as is shown here in Fig. 2 with LOPQNM.



So that now I am firmly convinced that what we have shown in Fig. 1 with BGHIE is not merely a so-called bone membrane, but is partly the bone itself. If we cut through the so-called bone membrane so deeply that we also cut through the bone parts which are shown between ABCDEF, then these bone parts in the cut-off pieces of bone look like little holes or pores. Actually, in their entire perimeter, they consist of nothing but very tiny vessels that are equipped with cavities and which bone parts are also lengthwise full of little vessels. This is

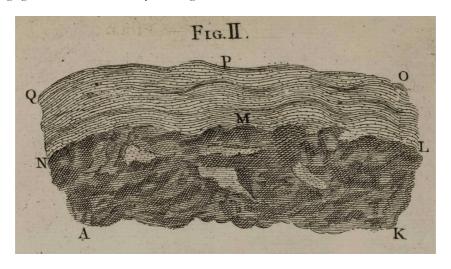
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> L. also mentions the use of multiple magnifying glasses in Letter L-581 of 20 November 1722 to JAMES JURIN, in this volume.

also the case with the clear substance that is lying between the bone parts and is drawn here between Fig. 1 BCDE<sup>5</sup> thicker than I have seen them.

I imagine that these bone parts have been created to pour continually into healthy bodies the substance (which consists mainly of fat) out of the little vessels into the so-called bone membrane. I imagine that the bone membrane in its turn conveys that substance throughout the entire body, and that via the so-called membranes.

Now I saw again in another place that many vessels of the bone, which came from somewhat deeper out of the bone, combined, as it were, into little bundles, and that these entered into the bone membrane, and within the bone membrane again spread out, just as they were joining together in the bone membrane. Because we cannot perceive here the least motion or flowing through, we cannot say with any certainty whether the saps are conveyed out of the bone, or into the bone, although it seemed more probable that the saps were conveyed out of the bone.

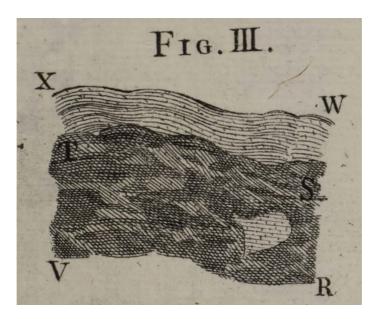
Furthermore, I had standing before a magnifying glass a little piece of bone with the so-called bone membrane, many little vessels of which had been cut through in the longitudinal direction of the bone membrane, and others crosswise, which are shown by little dots, as are shown in Fig. 2 with KLOPQNA. KLMNA is the so-called bone, that, although it is here depicted without pores, yet is full of openings; and that which is shown in Fig. 2 with LOPQNM should not be taken for a membrane, because, in my opinion, seeing that it is lying against the bone, it is bony as in Fig. 2 LMN.



Now I had a little piece of bone standing before a magnifying glass, a small part of which I had drawn, as is shown in Fig. 3. with RSWXTV. RSTV is the bone and SWXT the so-called bone membrane, which here was not thicker than a thick hair from a man's chin, whereas on that same bone, somewhat further on, I saw the bone membrane lying as much as four times thicker<sup>6</sup>.

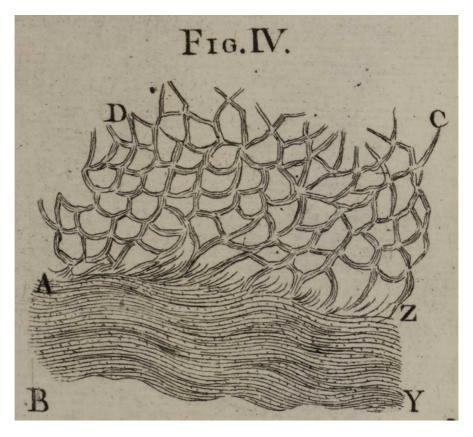
In the ms, L. mistakenly wrote BGDF.

<sup>6</sup> A hair from the beard is about 0.1 mm thick. So, the bone membrane or periosteum was about 0.4 mm thick.



Now I had also standing before a magnifying glass a little piece of bone that was lying in the longitudinal direction of the bone membrane and so the bone could not be seen. I had only the bone membrane drawn, and the little fibres of flesh that had been cut through crosswise and were, as it were, encompassed by the parts of the bone membrane, as is shown here in Fig. 4 with YZCDAB. YZAB is the bone membrane, and with ZCDA are shown the little fibres of flesh, cut crosswise. This bone came from a rib of a fat cow, and it seemed strange to me that I could not find any parts of fat on the rib at that place where I was cutting it through lengthwise, whereas the rib in other places was overloaded with fat<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In Philosophical Transactions, L.'s word vet (fat) is mistranslated as "marrow".



All my observations that I made with regard to the bones and their coverings, which are called bone membranes, were very numerous but not to my full satisfaction, because I had imagined that the so-called bone membrane close to the bone, where it was, as it were, firmly attached to the bone, would have some toughness and even be bony and that at a little distance from the bone it would acquire some softness, corresponding to the flexibility that characterizes the membranes that cover flesh and fat.

Now I had four small pieces of ribs of a fat cow, which as much as two months ago I had ordered to be chopped off from the ribs and which had become very dry.

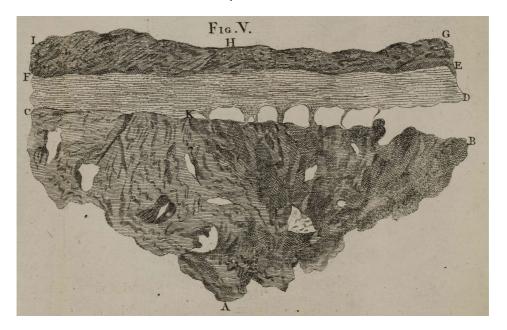
I pulled the so-called bone membrane off from a piece of a rib, which was firmly attached, beyond my expectation, to the bone and I saw that many little particles of the bone membrane remained attached to the bone.

I did this with the intention to observe whether some small pieces of the surface of the bone (which is by no means as strong as the bone parts that lie further inwards) [would remain attached to the bone membrane].

Hereupon I cut slivers, as thin as was feasible for me, from the length of the ribs or from across the ribs. In doing this, I made nicks in two of my good knives, which had rendered me much service.

I put these cut-off small pieces of bone before magnifying glasses, and I put one magnifying glass in the hands of the painter whom I employed for many years, for the matters that I judged that should be depicted.

Fig. 5 ABKC shows a small piece of a rib of a cow, which had been cut off by me crosswise, and that as thinly as was feasible for me. On it, a part of the so-called bone membrane was still attached to the bone, as is shown from K to C, and with BKD is shown how far the bone membrane was torn from the bone and how in several places the bone membrane was still attached to the bone by means of some stretched-out vessels.



With DEFC in the said figure, the bone membrane is shown. What is shown with EGHIF was, as it were, curled up twice, so that I could not quite judge what it was, although I took it to be a membrane.

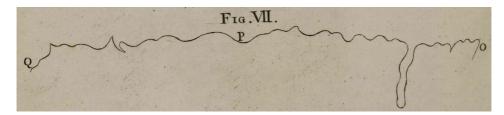
I had also several cut-off pieces of bone, both from a rib of a cow and of a calf, of which the entire bone membrane (or as much of it as was feasible) had been torn off; which is shown only with a curved line LMN [in Fig. 6].



According to BOITET'S Beschryving der Stadt Delft, p. 791, WILLEM VAN DER WILT drew "most all of the plates in the celebrated work of Mr. Leeuwenhoek, through magnifying glasses wonderfully drawn from life." See also FRANSEN, "Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, His Images and Draughtsmen".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> In the ms., L. omitted the figure number.

In Fig. 7, a second curved line is shown with OPQ, which is the contour of the bone from which the bone membrane had been torn off, so that the tight connection that the bone membrane has with the bone even to some extent, I imagine, damages or breaks the bone and that the most when the bone grows larger in size.



I have also seen at times that in the shin bone of a cow little vessels were running along the length of the bone, which I judged to be little blood vessels.

Now we recurrently find that all bones that we have observed with great attention consist for a large part of inconceivably small vessels or pores that spring within from the cavity, or spongelike substance. The vessels have no endings at the surface, but pass into the so-called bone membrane, and further through the body, indeed as far as the outermost parts of the body, and there again pour out the surplus of the fat. Summarizing, we may conclude that in a healthy body, a continual pouring of fat (or the substance from which the fat springs) into the bones comes about. The fat by the bones in their turn is conveyed through the entire body and thrust out, indeed, even up to the tips of the fingers. On what can we see this more clearly, than when we have a pewter dish before us, which has been scoured clean, and put the furthermost part of our fingers on it? Then, as is usually said, the pewter will become misted over, but actually this will be nothing but parts of fat that have been thrust out of our fingers. For although some watery moisture was thrust out of our fingers together with, and in addition to, the parts of fat, yet that watery moisture will immediately evaporate, and the fat will remain lying on the pewter.

So far run my notes and observations, which, for the time being, I have thought fit to impart to you, very noble sirs, and I shall remain with very much respect<sup>10</sup>.

of you, very noble sirs, the humble servant

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> L.'s next letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-567 of 15 January 1721, in this volume.

Gericht aan: de Royal Society.

Manuscript: Het manuscript van de door L. ondertekende Latijnse vertaling van zijn

brief bevindt zich bij de Royal Society, Londen, MS 2113, Early Letters L4.62; 9 kwartobladzijden; 1 gravure. Aldaar ook een kopie in Letter Book Original 15.80, blz. 299-303, ten onrechte gedateerd op 15 januari 1723.

#### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1721: 'Epistola Domini Antonij van Leeuwenhoek, R. S. S. de Osculis, Sive Spiraculis Foliorum Buxi, Item de Lanugine Malorum Persicorum & Cydoniorum.' *Philosophical Transactions* 31 (31 december 1721), nr. 369 (1723), blz. 231-234. - Latijnse tekst.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE (1924): De 2e en 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, blz. 143-144. - Nederlandse samenvatting.

## SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief beschrijft L. de huidmondjes van de bladeren van een buxusstruik en berekent hij het aantal huidmondjes op een blad. Hij beschrijft ook de donsharen van een perzik en een kweepeer.

## FIGUREN:

Bij deze brief horen twee figuren. L. zond geen tekeningen, maar een gravure mee met deze brief. De figuren 1-2 zijn te vinden als Fig. 3-4 op de plaat bij no. 369 van de *Philosophical Transactions*.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

Deze Latijnstalige brief is door een onbekende hand geschreven, maar wel door L. eigenhandig ondertekend. De vertaler is onbekend. Twee jaar nadat de brief werd geschreven werd deze voorgelezen op de vergadering van de Royal Society van 16 mei 1723 O.S.; Royal Society, Journal Book Original, Dl. 13, blz. 286: waar een samenvatting van de brief en de mededeling 'Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was ordered thanks'.

De Latijnse titel in *Philosophical Transactions* luidt in Nederlandse vertaling: 'Brief van Antony van Leeuwenhoek, F.R.S. Over de huidmondjes van de Buxus-bladen, en over het dons van perziken en kweeperen'.

[Praenobilibus Viris, Regiae Societatis quae Londini est, Assessoribus. 1

Nuper cogitationem meam converti ad frondes Arborum nostratum, tacitusque meditari num et illae forsitan osculis, sint instructae. Cum igitur in area mea duas haberem Arbusculas, sive, plantas illius Buxi quae vulgo Palma leves appellatur; folium ex iis unum decerpsi, et in partes divulsum ope microscopii contemplatus sum. Tum vero partes illas, per quas transpiratio vel exhalatio fit, clarissime visu distinxi. Ad haec complures percepi exiguissimos hiatus, qui lucem transmittebant: quos, tamen commodius majorique numero percepi, cum partes praedicti folii aliquanto essent sicciores.

Cum praeterea supra porticum domus meae, quac porticus plumbo contecta est, alia staret Arbuscula Buxus; quaedam illius foliola, partim ad huc viventia partim exsiccata, mihi adferenda curavi: ut illorum texturam, quantum possibile esset, investigaram. Quod eo successu feci, ut istius modi oscula, sive spiracula, in foliis istis clarius visu perceperim, quam in ullis umquam fructibus ante percepissim. Ut autem multitudinem osculorum, quae in tali foliolo percepi, velut oculis expositam haberem; folium buxeum lineali imposui cupreo, quod in varias partes distinctum erat: comperique longitudinem folii parem esse octonis partibus pollicis, in decem partes distributi, folii vero latitudinem cum medietate pollicis, sive quinque decimis partibus exaequari.

Iam vero ponamus tali foliolo figuram esse ovatam: adhaec latitudinem eius atque longitudinem coniungamus: tum exsurget numerus 13, cuius dimidium sit 6½. Dein ponamus idem foliolum post illam latitudinis atque longitudinis coniunctionem, instar circuli esse rotundum, illiusque diametrum 6½ decimis pollicis partibus ex aequo respondere.

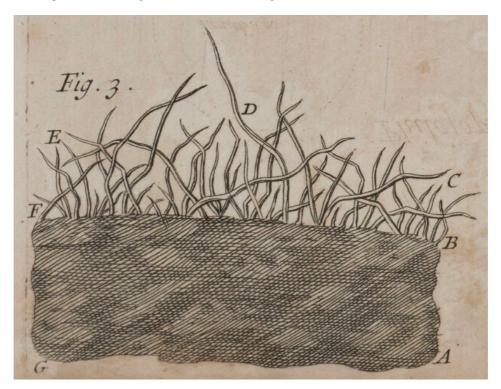
Exinde iuxta foliolum ante dictum locavi pilum porcinum quem adhibito microscopio contemplatus, iudicavi duodecim Buxi oscula, si sibi contigua iacerent, cum diametro pili porcini longitudine exaequari: sexaginta vero pilos porcinos iudicabam magnitudinis esse policaris. Seouitur decimam quamque pollicis partem sex diametris pilorum porcinorum longitudine parem esse: dimidiatam vero diametron folioli buxei cum 19½ diametris pilorum porcinorum exaequari. Quae 19½ diametri si duodecies, id est iuxta numerum osculorum, multiplicentur, efficitur numerus 234; quam longitudinem dimidiatus folioli buxei circulus ex antedictis habet.

Ut autem quid tali circulo contineatur supputemus, primo cum geometris statuendum est, quae proportio est numeri 14 ad numerum 11; eamdem proportionem esse inter numerum quadratum diametri cuiusvis circuli, et ea quae circulo ipso continentur. Sequitur unam folii buxei superficiem osculis 43022 4/7 praeditam esse. Cum autem altera superficies haud paucioribus instructa fit; tandem exsurget numerus osculorum, quorum ope perspiratio et exhalahtio stat.

Cum lanuginem illam, quae Mala Persica, vulgo montane, convestit, nupera aestate sine microscopio considerarem; frustula quaedam Mali Persici, ex cortica excisa, ante microscopium collocavi. Tum vero iudicabam floccos illos laneos pares esse osculis per cutem Mali Persici diffusis. Et quemadmodum oscula fructuum velut inter duo labiola patescere, nec plane rotunda sed aliquantulum oblonga esse, iam ante monui, sic flocci lanei, ex osculis ante dictis effloreseentes, non omnino rotundi sunt, sed nonnihil plani. Sed et complures in medio, ruga quadam notatus esse videbam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Het stuk tussen de rechte haken is niet afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

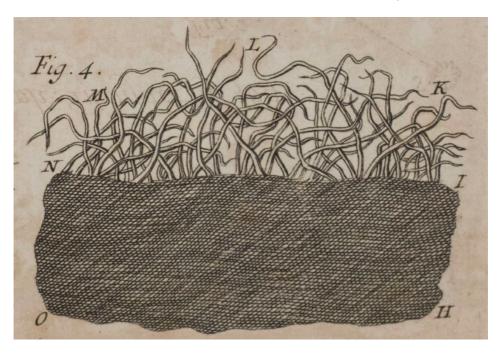
Ut autem multitudinem osculorum habitus exspirantium palam proponam; unaque ingentem numerum exhalantium humorum, qui aerem ingressi in particulas oblongas sed alias aliis longiores spissescent oculis subiiciam, exiguam Mali Persici portionem delineari et in icone 3 per ABCDEFG indicari curavi. Ubi quidem ABFG perpusillum est frustum Mali et Corticis Persici: per BCDEF lanugo malo adhaerescens designatur.



Magnitudinem dicti frustuli, per iconem 1 designati, sic estimare poteris. Tres vultus mei pilos microscopio applicatos habebam; quos Pietari iconis modo dictae delineationem intuendos exhibui. Cum deinde eiusdem iconis longitudinem, e G ad H² in 16 partes distribuissem, rogavi quot latorum pilorum diametros in illa iconis longitudine contineri indicaret; qui, ne octo quidem, respondit. Quod si verum esse statuamus; quam incredibili floccorum laneorum multitudine necesse est Malum Persicum circumvestire!

Cum postea Mala sive Pyra Cijdonia permaturruissent; quasdam etiam Mali cydonii particulas ad microscopium applicavi; et lanuginem, quae ex Malo Cydonio exhalatur neque lanugini Mali Persici copia cedit, delineandam curavi: quae omnia in icone 4 designata vides per HIKLMNO. Ubi HINO perparva est portio Mali Corticisque Cydonii: per IKLMN lanugo ex malis cijdonis exsudans indicatur. Quae lanugo, licet in cydoniis longior quam in Persicis, non tamen in illis erigitur, sicut in istis; sed crispando sibi invicem implectitur.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In het handschrift schreef L. abusievelijk een H i.p.v. een A.



[Finem facio, et in omnes tempus manebo

Illustrissimi Domini Devotissimus vobis Famulus

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK. 3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Het stuk tussen de rechte haken is niet afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

Addressed to: The Royal Society.

Manuscript: The manuscript of the Latin translation of the letter, signed by L., is to be

found in London, Royal Society, MS 2113, Early Letters L4.62; 9 quarto pages; 1 engraving. There is also preserved a copy in Letter Book Original

15.80, pp. 299-303, dated erroneously 15 January 1723.

#### PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1721: "Epistola Domini Antonij van Leeuwenhoek, R. S. S. de Osculis, Sive Spiraculis Foliorum Buxi, Item de Lanugine Malorum Persicorum & Cydoniorum." *Philosophical Transactions* 31 (31 December 1721), no. 369, pp. 231-234. – Almost complete text of the Latin letter.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 2e en 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 143-144. - Dutch summary.

## SUMMARY:

In this letter, L. describes the stomata ("little mouths") of the leaves of boxwood and calculates the number of stomata on a leaf. He also describes the down on the skin of a peach and a quince.

## FIGURES:

Two figures came with this letter. Instead of drawings, L. sent a single engraving accompanying this letter. The two figures are to be found as Fig. 3-4 on the plate with no. 369 of *Philosophical Transactions*.

#### REMARKS:

This Latin letter is written in an unknown hand, but it is signed by L. himself. The translator is unknown. The letter was read two years after it was written, during the meeting of the Royal Society on 16 May 1723 O.S.; Royal Society, Journal Book Original, vol. 13, pp. 286-87, has a summary of the letter and ends "Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was ordered thanks".

The Latin title in *Philosophical Transactions* translates to "Letter of Antony van Leeuwenhoek, F.R.S. About the stomata of the leaves of boxwood, also concerning the down of peaches and quinces".

Delft, the 15 of January 17211

To the most noble gentlemen, Fellows of the Royal Society in London.

Recently I turned my thoughts to the leaves of our native trees, and to silently ponder whether they too are perhaps equipped with little mouths<sup>2</sup>. Accordingly, since I have in my courtyard two little trees, or plants, of that box-tree that is commonly called a Ceres palm<sup>3</sup>, I broke off a single leaf from them. When I had torn this to pieces, I observed it with the help of the magnifying glass. Then, to be sure, I distinguished, very clearly to be seen, those parts through which the transpiration or exhalation comes about. I discerned, moreover, several very tiny openings that let the light through. However, I discerned the latter more easily and in greater number when the parts of the aforesaid leaf were somewhat dryer.

Moreover, since another little box-tree was standing above the porch of my house, which porch is covered with lead<sup>4</sup>, I had some of its little leaves, partly still living, partly dried, brought to me so that I could investigate their texture, as far as it was feasible. This I did with such a good result that in those leaves, I observed the little mouths, or breathing-holes, of that kind more clearly visible than I had ever perceived them earlier in any kind of fruit. But in order that I would have the large number of mouths that I observed in such a little leaf, as it were, set out before my eyes, I put a leaf of the box-tree on a copper ruler that was divided into various units. I found that the length of the leaf was equal to eight parts of an inch<sup>5</sup>, which had been divided into ten units, but that the breadth of the leaf was equal to half an inch, or five of the ten units.

Now let us assume that the figure of such a little leaf is an oval. Let us, in addition to this, put together its breadth and length. Then the outcome is the number of 13, half of which is  $6\frac{1}{2}$ . Let us hereafter assume that that same little leaf, after this addition of its length and breadth, is round like a circle, and that its diameter is equal to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  tenth parts of an inch.

Then I put next to the little leaf, mentioned above, the hair of a pig<sup>7</sup>, about which, when I had observed it using the magnifying glass, I judged that twelve little mouths of the box-tree, if they would be lying one next to the other, would equal in length the diameter of the pig's hair. Indeed, I judged that sixty hairs of a pig would be the size of an inch. It follows that each tenth part of an inch is equal in size to six diameters of pig hairs and that half of the diameter of a leaflet of the box-tree comes up to 19½ diameters of pig hairs. § If these 19½ diameters are multiplied by twelve, which is in accordance with the number of little mouths,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> L.'s previous letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-566 of 20 November 1720, in this volume.

Stoma (Greek for "mouth") is the modern scientific term for this pore, a pair of crescent-shaped cells, that controls the rate of transpiration. The term itself was not used in botany until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Buxus sempervirens L., also called "palm-tree". While L. had mentioned the box tree in earlier letters, for example, Letter 300 [V] L-494 of 25 Match 1713, Collected Letters, vol. 17, p. 93, he had not previously studied it in detail.

<sup>4</sup> L. clearly refers here to a boxwood tree in a flower pot standing probably on the gallery connecting the main house to the back kitchen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A Rijnland inch is 2.61 cm. 'Eight [out of ten] parts of an inch' is therefore approximately 2 cm.

<sup>6</sup>  $6\frac{1}{2}$  tenth parts of an inch is approximately 1.7 cm.

A pig's hair has a thickness of 0.2 to 0.3 mm.

<sup>8</sup> This means that half of the diameter of a leaflet of the box tree is between 3.5 and 6.0 mm.

the outcome is the number of 2349. It follows from what has been said before that half of the circle of the leaf of the box-tree has this length.

Now in order that we may compute what is contained within such a circle, one must, in accordance with the geometricians, determine what is the proportion between the number of 14 and the number of 11. For they say that that same proportion exists between the square of the diameter of any kind of circle and that which is contained within that circle itself. It follows that one surface of the leaf of a box-tree is equipped with 43,022 <sup>4</sup>/<sub>7</sub> little mouths<sup>10</sup>. Now because the other surface is equipped with an equal amount of them, eventually the number of little mouths appears, by means of which the perspiration and exhalation take place.

When I observed last summer without the magnifying glass the down that clothes peaches, commonly called montanas <sup>11</sup>, I placed some small pieces of the peach, cut from the skin, before the magnifying glass. Then, to be sure, I judged that those woolly flocks were equal in number to the little mouths diffused on the skin of the peach. And just as I have pointed out already earlier that the little mouths of fruits open up, as it were, between two little lips and are not clearly circular, but somewhat elongated, in the same way the woolly flocks, springing up out of the little mouths already mentioned, are not completely circular, but somewhat flattish. But I also saw that several were characterized by a kind of wrinkle in the middle.

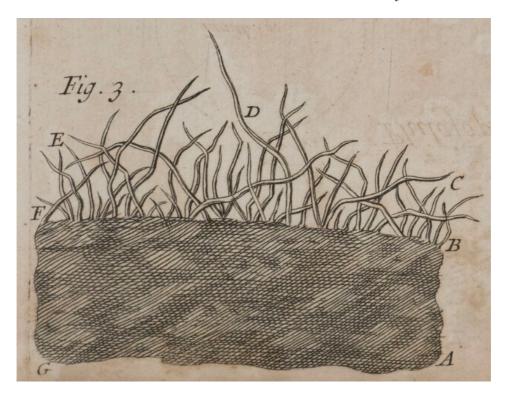
Now in order to clearly set forth the multitude of little mouths that breathe forth exhalations and, with that, put before one's eyes the enormous number of evaporating fluids which, when they come into the air, condense into longish particles, but some of them longer than others, I ordered a small part of the peach to be drawn, and to show this in Fig. 1 with ABCDEFG <sup>12</sup>, where, then, ABFG is a very tiny piece of the peach and its skin. The down that adheres to the peach is shown with BCDEF.

The margin of the manuscript shows the calculation to determine the number of "little mouths". It appears to be in the same hand as the Latin in the manuscript. As he often did in earlier letters, L. wanted the Royal Society to see the calculation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Again, L.'s calculation is in the margin.

Or "montane". The ms. is unclear. The modern botanical term for this down, or "woolly flocks" as L. characterized them, is trichome indumentum, a term not used until the midnineteenth century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> In the ms., L.'s "1" is crossed out and replaced with a "3", probably by JAMES JURIN, the editor of *Philosophical Transactions*. The journal often put figures from multiple articles onto the same plate.



You can gauge the size of the said little piece, shown in Fig. 1, in the following way. I had three hairs of my face standing before the magnifying glass, which I have shown to the draughtsman of the figure just mentioned. When thereafter I divided the length of that same picture, from G to A<sup>13</sup>, into sixteen parts, I asked how many diameters of those thick hairs he would show to be contained in that length of the picture. He answered: not even as many as eight. If we assume that this is correct, what an incredible multitude of woolly flocks must cover the peach!

When afterwards the cydonian apples or quinces<sup>14</sup> had ripened, I also put some particles of the quince before the magnifying glass. I ordered the down, which is exhaled from the quince and which is not less abundant than the down of the peach, to be drawn, all of which you see drawn in Fig. 2<sup>15</sup> through HIKLMNO. In this, HINO is a very small part of the quince and its skin. The down, sweating from the quince, is shown by IKLMN. This down, although it is longer in the quinces than in the peaches, does not stand up straight in the former, as it does in the latter, but being curly, it intertwines with itself.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> In the ms., L. wrote "H" mistakenly.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The quince (Cydonia oblonga) is the sole member of the genus Cydonia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> In the ms., L.'s "2" is crossed out and replaced with a "4".



I shall finish, and shall remain always 16

The most devoted servant of you, most noble sirs,

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> L.'s next letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-568 of 24 January 1721, in this volume.

Gericht aan: de Royal Society.

Manuscript: Het manuscript van deze brief bevindt zich bij de Royal Society, Londen,

MS 2114, Early Letters L4.63; 6 kwartobladzijden. Aldaar ook een kopie van de brief in Letter Book Original, 15.73, 10 blz. Daarin wordt ten onrechte opgemerkt dat de brief is voorgelezen op 1 februari 1721/1722 O.S. en vertaald is door JAMES JURIN. Voor een eigentijdse Engelse vertaling van de brief door CONRAD SPRENGELL¹ (niet JURIN), zie: MS

2115, Early Letters L4.64; 6 blz.

## GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1721: "Observations upon the Vessels in Several Sorts of Wood, and upon the Muscular Fibres of Different Animals. By the Same Curious and Inquisitive Person." *Philosophical Transactions* 31 (30 april 1721), nr. 367, blz. 134-141. - Vrijwel volledige Engelse vertaling van de brief.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 2e en 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, blz. 144. - Nederlandse samenvatting.

#### SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief bespreekt L. vaten in diverse houtsoorten uit Ambon (Indonesië), eikenhout en grenenhout. Hij bespreekt de spiervezels van een koe, een walvis en een muis, evenals de structuur van een rood bloedlichaampje.

## OPMERKINGEN:

Het manuscript van deze brief is van een onbekende hand. De kopiist is op enkele punten afgeweken van L.'s gebruikelijke spelling. Vermelding verdienen:

- 1. het veelvuldige gebruik van het dubbele klinkerteken in open lettergrepen, zoals in *laagen, waaren*; *sneeden, reegels*; *kookent, wooning*; en
- 2. het gebruik van *gh* aan het woordeinde, bijv. *sagh, begeerigh, opslagh*. Verder maakte hij maar spaarzaam gebruik van hoofdletters en paste hij voor een punt en een komma hetzelfde teken toe (een dun schuin streepje op de schrijflijn). Dit tekentje hebben wij als een komma getranscribeerd, behalve a. aan het einde van een alinea en b. daar waar ter wille van de leesbaarheid het begin van een nieuwe zin met een hoofdletter is aangegeven. I en j zijn in het ms. elkaars grafische varianten; ze zijn daarom getranscribeerd volgens hun klankwaarde. Dit geldt ook voor de verkleiningsuitgang in die woorden waarin L. soms wel een i schreef (*fibertiens, vaatiens*). De interpunctie is hier gemoderniseerd en de alinea's volgen de tekst zoals afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions*. Dezelfde kopiist schreef ook Brief L-576 van 13 juni 1722, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Voor SPRENGELL, zie Brief L-565 van 9 januari 1720, noot. 1, in dit deel.

De brief werd een jaar later voorgelezen, nadat JAMES JURIN op 30 november 1721 (O.S.) tot tweede secretaris en redacteur van *Philosophical Transactions* was gekozen, tijdens de vergadering van de Royal Society op 11 februari 1722 (O.S.) Zie: Royal Society, Journal Book, Dl. 13, blz. 157-58. De notulen bevatten een gedetailleerde samenvatting van de brief, beginnend met: 'A translation of Mr. Leeuwenhoeck's Letter of the 24 of January 1721 by Dr. Springal, containing microscopical observations made upon the texture of wood and flesh was communicated and read,' en eindigend: 'Mr. Leeuwenhoeck was ordered thanks, and Dr. Springal had thanks for making this Translation'.

Delft in Holland den 24 jannuw 1721

Aan de Hoog Edele-Heeren mijn heeren die van de coninklijke Societeijt in London<sup>2</sup>

Hoog Edele Heeren

alsoo ik nevens mijn wooninge veel planken die rootagtigh waare sag in draagen<sup>3</sup>, was ik begeerigh om te weeten, waar soo daanige planken toe dienden, en tot antwoort kreegh, dat de selve bij de oostindische compangnie waaren verkogt door een cabijnet werker<sup>4</sup> en dat ze bij de selve soude verwerkt worden tot cabinette, ende dat se van het eijland ambona<sup>5</sup> quaamen.

Ik was begeerig om een stukje van dat hout te hebben om de vaaten in het hout was het voor mij doendelijk te ontdekken. Ik bequam een afgesaagt stukje van een plank, als meede eenige kleijne stukjens hout, die ten eijnde van de plank waaren afgesaagt, en ik door sneede de selve op alle bedenkkelijke plaatse om dat ik sag dat op de eene plaas het hout witagtig was, en digt daar neevens root, ende op een andere plaats swartagtigh<sup>6</sup>. Als ik nu het hout, over dwars hadde doorsneeden, sag ik dat in de lengte van het hout soodaanige groote opgaande vaaten waaren, dat door de selve (door het vergroot glas te beschouwen) wel Erten souden konnen door gaan, ende dat deese vaaten daar het hout een roode couleur hadde, de groote vaaten gevolt waaren, met een schoon blij roode couleur, soo dat ik mij in beelde dat deese groote vaaten de roode waaren op voerende, ende die roode stoffe voerden inde horisontaale vaaten die soo veel ende soo digt bij den anderen laagen dat door de selve om de roode stoffe waar meede de horisontale vaatjens beset waaren, het houdt een rooder couleur aanbragten.

Hier op leijde ik eenige aan schijfjens gesneede stukjens houdt over dwars doorsneeden in een posteleijne<sup>7</sup> coffij kopje geleijt, ende daar op gegooten kookent waater, ende eenige tijt daar in gelegen hebbende, ende als dan door het vergroot glas beschouwende, oordeelde ik, dat de roode stoffe in de vaaten ontdaan waaren, ende tot het waater waaren over gegaan, ende als ik het hout daar het wit was, voor het vergroot glas plaaste, soo hebbe geen roode stoffe in de vaaten gevonden.

Het geen mij in dit hout vreemt voor quam, dat was, dat ik het hout in sijn lengte doorsnijdende, veelmaalen is te vooren gekoomen, in een hair breette het hout schoon root was, ende een haar breette hooger het houdt wit was, ende dat sulks in een opslagh, veel maal mij voor quam, ende de opgaande kleijne vaaten int hout quaamen mij kleijnder voor daar het hout root was, als daar het hout wit was, het welke ik mij inbeelde dat de naeuwte van de roode vaatjens voort quam uijt de roode stoffe die in de vaatjens waaren.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> De vorige brief van L. aan de Royal Society is Brief L-567 van 15 januari 1721, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Het is onduidelijk of L. het Suikerhuis ten zuiden van zijn Gulden Hoofd of de Rode Zee ten noorden bedoelde. In het Suikerhuis woonde de weduwe van L.'s drukker HENDRICK VAN KROONEVELT. Een andere drukker, CORNELIS VAN HEUSDEN, woonde in de Rode Zee. Misschien had een van hen meer kasten nodig om boeken uit te stallen.

<sup>4</sup> cabijnet werker, meubelmaker.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> ambona, Ambon, Ambon en de naburige eilanden in de Indonesische Molukken werden na 1605 bestuurd door de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en produceerden tot het midden van de negentiende eeuw grote hoeveelheden kruidnagelen. Eerder heeft L. in Brief 119 [115] L-355 aan HARMEN VAN ZOELEN naar dit eiland verwezen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Deze beschrijving past bij wat nu Amboyna-hout wordt genoemd, *Pterocarpus indicus*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> posteleijne, bijvorm van porseleinen.

Ik hebbe nog eenige bijsonderheeden in het hout aangemerkt die sal ik overslaan, vorders hebbe ik waar genomen dat in het eijken hout inde opgaande vaatjens meede vaatjens waaren, die van ter sijden in de selve quamen ende in mijn oog niet als ronde seer kleijne gaatjens mij voor quamen, en meest daar de horisontale vaatjens waaren; en welke vaatjens ik vast stelde dat met de opgaande vaatjens vant hout verenigde ende van de sappen die in de horisontaale vaatjens waaren, voor een gedeelte in de opgaande vaatjens waaren instortende ende deese vereenigingh van de horisontaale vaatjens als meede de opgaande vaatjens en soude ik soo niet ontdekt hebben ten waare ik de horisontaale en de opgaande vaatjens beijde in haar lengte was door snijdende.

Wanneer ik nu een takje van een eijken boom de dikte van een vinger dat in seeven jaaren niet dikker was geworden, in sijn lengte soo daanigh quam te door snijden, dat de op gaande vaaten en de horisontaale vaaten, beijde in haar lengte was door snijdende soo sag ik dat de hoorisontale vaaten in soo een groot getal bij den anderen laagen, ende als uijt een pit van een tak scheenen voort te koomen, dat voor mij verwonderens waardigh was.

Vorders hebbe ik gedagten genoomen op de op gaande vaatjens die in het greijnen hout, dat men ook dennen noemt, ende welke<sup>8</sup> opgaande vaatjens soo dun van stoffe sijn, datse een vermaakelijk gesigt verwekken, ende ons door het vergroot glas voor koomen als of in de opgaande vaatjens laagen opgeslooten ronde bolletjens die int midden een kleijne openingh hadden en mij toeschenen als of het vaster stoffe was dan het hout dat de opgaande vaatjens van het hout waaren uijtmaakende. Maar nu met mijne naader waarneminge, bevinde ik dat ik in mijne gedagten ben gedwaalt, want ik bevinde nu dat het niet en sijn als vaatjens ofte openinge waar door de soo<sup>9</sup> opgaande als horisontaale vaatjens die het lighaam van het hout uijtmaaken met den anderen voor een groot gedeelte sijn vereenigt, ende de sappen aan den anderen over voeren.

Deese mijne waarneeminge hebben mij gevoert, tot de vlees fijbertjens seggende tot mijn selven, na<sup>10</sup> DE HEERE MAAKER VAN HET GEHEEL AL,<sup>11</sup> in sijne te saamen gestel van schepselen, in seer veele saaken, op een ende de selve wijse heeft te weeg gebragt, of niet<sup>12</sup> de seer dunne menbraantjens die ider vlees fijbertjens als omwinden, met een onbedenkelijk groot getal van vaatjens sijn voorsien om dus ider vlees fijbertje, op seer veel plaatsen, in een wel gestelt lighaam voetsel toevoegen,

en hebbe dan tot dien eijnde het vlees van een rund aan seer dunne schijfjens gesneeden soo daanigh dat ik de vlees fijbertjens, soo veel mij doendelijk vas over dwars was snijdende ende dan de selve geplaast op schoone glaasen, ende de selve met schoon regenwaater nat gemaakt hebbende stelde ik die voor een seer scharp siende vergroot glas, ende het selve voor mijn gesigt brengende bleef ik daar op soo langh sien dat dat over dwars gesneede vlees deele begonden te droogen, als wanneer ik op verscheijde plaatsen sag dat de vlees fijber deeltjens als van de menbraantjens waar van de selve als omvangen waare op eenige plaatsen, [en] van de uijtnemende kleijne of dunne vaatjens, als van een scheurden, ende andere die sterker waaren soo verre uijtrekten als de axe van een bolletje bloet<sup>13</sup>, en welk vlees deeltje wel aan de andere zijde soo vast aan andere vleesdeeltjens was verenigt dat de vaatjens de vereeninge niet en braaken, ende dus niet als het menbraantje dat ze als omwonden was te bekennen, en aan andere deelen van het stukje vlees, daar ik met mijn oog niet op en was

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In het hs.: ende in welke.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> In het hs. staat tussen *de* en *soo* abusievelijk: *vaatjens*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> In het hs. abusievelijk *na de DE*.

<sup>11</sup> De Heere Maaker van Het Geheel Al. In de Philosophical Transactions, vertaald als "the Author of Nature".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> In plaats van *niet* staat in het hs. *met*.

 $<sup>^{13}</sup>$  Een rood bolletje van het bloed (erytrocyt) heeft een diameter van 7,2  $\mu$ .

blijven staan, laagen verscheijde vleesdeeltjens van de menbraantjens gans afgescheijden dog soo niet of daar waaren aan de selve eenige kleijne deeltjens die ik vast stelde dat vaatjens van het menbraantje [waaren] die het voetsel aan het vleesfijbertje hadde toe gebragt.

nu hadde ik ook voor het selvige vergroot glas staan, verscheijde vlees-fibertjens van een rund, in der selver lengte voor het selve vergroot glas staan, ende het selve met op merkinge beschouwende, sag ik seer veel seer uijtnemende kleijne ronde gaatjens in ider vlees fijbertjen, die ik oordeelde die geene waaren, waar in de vaatjens van de menbraantjens in geplaast hadde geweest, ende welke vaatjens met een vogtigheijt sijnde beset geweest de vogtigheijt weg gewaasemt sijnde de gaatjens ofte openinge<sup>14</sup> in de vlees fijbertjens bij mij seer distinct waaren te bekennen<sup>15</sup>.

Om dat nu ten onse tijden twee persoonen van naam<sup>16</sup> hebben tragten te beweeren dat het bloet door de vleesfibertjens was doorgaande, ende dus was circuleerende soo hebbe ik het bloet door het in steeken van een naalde in mijn duijm, op het glas geplaast daar de vleesfijbertjens stonden, om te konnen oordeelen, met het beschouwen van ons oog, wat proporcije dat de hoe grootheijt van een bolletje bloet tegen de hoe wijtte van de openinge die ik geseijt hebbe, dat in de vlees fijbertjens te sien sijn.

Met dese mijne waarneminge besig sijnde, komt de konst schilder die ik sedert verscheijde jaaren mijne ontdekkinge hebbe laaten teijkenen<sup>17</sup>, in mijn oog, die ik tot mij laat koomen om dat ik op mijn selven niet en soude staan, maar als een tweede ooggetuijgen hebben, en ten anderen om dat van een goet oordeel is, en ook scharper kan sien als ik, in mijn seer hooge jaaren, ende stelde hem als voor de oogen de kleijne openinge in de vlees-fijbertjens die hij seijde seer distinct te sien, ende daar in genoegen hebbende stelde ik den selven als voor de oogen de bolletjens bloet, hier vooren verhaalt die in een seer groot getal en soo gesepareert van den anderen laagen, als men selden komt te sien, en vraagden daar op aan den selven, als men den diameter van een openingh van een gaatje ofte vaatjen in een vlees fijbertjen stelt een, wat dat de diameter, ofte axe van een bolletje bloet is, en na een weijnigh swijgens, kreeg ik tot antwoort, dat den diameter van een bolletje bloet vier was tegen, een openinghe van een vaatje, in een vlees fijbertje. Dit soo sijnde soo soude na de meet kundige reegels, een bolletje bloet in 64. deelen moeten gedeelt werden, soude het in een vaatje of gaatje van een vlees fijbertje in gaan.

Dit sijn in mijn oog verwonderenswaardige saaken, en na mijn gedagten, en sal men niet dieper in treeden, in de verborgentheeden van het te saamen gestel der verborgen hoedaanigheeden van het vlees, ende het toe voeringe van der selver voetsel en geduerige onderhoudinge, en moet seggen, dat ik in deese laaste ontdekkinghe, verheuginge gevoelde, die eenige verquikkinge verwekten, van twee smaatheeden die mij waaren over gekoomen 18. Soo nu seeker heer 19 sig in een verre landschap onthoudende dese ontdekkinge was ter ooren

WILLEM VAN DER WILT. Zie Brief L-566 van 20 november 1720, noot 21, in dit deel. De eerste figuren in de Send-Brieven, ter illustratie van Brief 296 [I] L-489 van 8 november 1712, Alle de Brieven, Dl. 17, zijn door een meer bekwame hand getekend dan de figuren in de vorige brief met figuren, die van Brief 293 L-486 van 12 april 1712, idem, Dl. 16. Zie FRANSEN, 'Images and Draughtsmen'.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> In het hs. (fol. 3, r. 7 v.o.) openinge. Dezelfde verschrijving op fol. 4, r. 16 (openingh) en r. 20 (openinghe). Elders (bijv. fol. 5, r. 8 v.o.) de normale vorm (openinghe).

Ende welke ... te bekennen, en bij welke vaatjes, die met vocht gevuld waren geweest, ik – toen het vocht verdampt was – de gaatjes of openingen kon waarnemen. Vlg. de interpretatie van de vertaler in de *Philosophical Transactions* heeft L. de vezels zelf bevochtigd (blz. 137-138).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Niet geïdentificeerd.

Waarschijnlijk doelt L. hier op de beweringen van de eerder genoemde 'twee persoonen van naam' (zie noot 15).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Niet geïdentificeerd.

gekoomen, soude wel weeder op nieuw aan mij schrijven deese woorden: sonder profaniteit te spreeken gij segt ons saaken die geen oogen .... enz.

na dat ik mijne ontdekkinge dus verre op het papier hadde gebragt, sijn mijne gedagten weder geloopen, op de soo genaamde vlees fijbertjens, hier in bestaande dat ik voor deesen geseijt hebbe dat ijder vlees fijbertjen sijn te saamen gestel was uijt lange striemtjens<sup>20</sup>, maar nu met de geseijde waarneminge mij niet vergenoegende en in gedagten neemende, of de geseijde striemtjens die een vleesfijbertje waaren uijtmaakende, niet wel vaatjens mogten sijn, soo hebbe dan tot dien eijnde genoomen als van het grootste af beginnende, het walvisvlees dat ik eenige jaaren hebbe gehadt<sup>21</sup>, ende dit vlees aan schijfjens snijdende<sup>22</sup>, soodaanig dat men de vleesfijbertjens over dwars door snijdende ende de selve geplaast hebbende ende nat maakende gestelt hebbe op verscheijde glaasen, en ook voor verscheijde vergroot glaasen, ende de selvige met opmerkinge beschouwende hebbe veel maalen gesien, dat het geene ik voor deesen voor striemtjens hebbe aangesien waarlijk seer uijtnemende kleijne vaatjens waaren. Dog aan seer veele vlees fijbertjens en konde men geen vaatjens bekennen, dat ik mij in beelde ten deele veroorsaakt was, datse soo hard in een gedroogt waaren, en ook de sneede soo niet en hadde gedaan als wel behoorde. Ook hadde ik het vlees van de walvis over langs gesneeden voor het vergroot glas geplaast, om meede te ontdekken de vaatjens die uijt de soo genaamde menbraantjens het voedsel aan de vleesfijbertjens toe bragten, en deese vaatjens die ik afgesneden hadde ende die seer naakt konde bekennen waaren in soo een groot getal dat ik niet en kan begrooten,

waar na ik het vlees nam van een seer vet rund, dat ik meede over dwars was doorsnijdende en door verscheijde scharpsiende vergroot glaasen beschouwende sag ik hoe dun deese vlees-fijbertjens egter dat het vaatjens waaren, en sagh meede dat gelijk in de walvis fijbertjens gesien hadde door de holligheden van de selve vaatjens het ligt, dog met de minsste schuijnsse sneede en konde men geen ligt door haar holligheeden bekennen.

Nu hadde ik in een laade leggen een agterquartier van een muijs, dat al eenige jaaren in een laade hadde geleegen<sup>23</sup>. Ik sneede dan de groote vleesmuscul overdwars door ende dat aan soodaanige dunne schijfjens als het mij doendelijk was, ende de selve voor vergroot glaasen plaatsende sag ik niet alleen dat de vlees fijbertjens van een ende de selve dikte waaren als die van een rund, maar ik sagh ook seer distinct de openheijt van de vaatjens, waar uijt een vlees fibertjen voor het meerendeel waare bestaande en welke openinghe ik, soo distinct sag als die in het walvis vlees schoon de vaatjens in een walvis vlees fibertje wel ses maal meer vaatjens sijn als in een rundvlees of muijs vlees fibertje, dog het walvis vlees fijbertje is ook wel ses maal dikker.

Wanneer<sup>24</sup> ik nu mijn gedagten liet gaan hoe [de vaatjens waar uijt de vlees fibertjens bestaan] het voetsel uijt de vaatjens die men menbraantjens noemt, kan over gaan in de vaatjens [van de vaatjens] van de vleesfijbertjens, na de maal de de vleesfijbertjens als de selve in haar rust leggen haar omwentelende inkrimpinge hebben, waar door wij moeten oordeelen,

<sup>21</sup> Zie Brief 296 [I] L-489 van 8 november 1712, idem, Dl. 17, blz. 6.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> striemtjens, dunne vezeltjes.

<sup>22</sup> Het volgende stuk van de zin (tot vergroot glaasen) is zeer verward, vooral wat de werkvoordsvormen betreft. De zin kan als volgt gereconstrueerd worden: zodanig dat men (eig. ik) de vleesvezeltjes overdwars doorsneed en nadat ik ze nat gemaakt had, heb ik ze op verschillende (object)glaasjes aangebracht en ook voor verschillende vergrootglazen gezet.

L. schreef over muizen in 1714 en 1715, in de laatste tijd in Brief 326 [XXIII] L-532 van 19 mei 1716, idem, Dl. 17, blz. 454. Zie ook blz. 458, voetnoot 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Bij de hier beginnende bijzin, die doorloopt tot 'Maar als wij gedenken', ontbreekt een hoofdzin. Men leze daarom: Ik liet nu mijn gedagten gaan, enz. Verder had L. uit het eerste gedeelte van de zin een aantal woorden moeten schrappen. In onze tekst zijn die tussen vierkante haken gezet.

dat de vaatjens in de vleesfijbertjens als toe gedrukt leggen. Maar als wij gedenken dat een voetganger in de tijt van een uure sijn voeten wel 3600 maal moet voort setten, want in een pols slag kan men een dubbelde tree<sup>25</sup> doen dat is met de regter voet voor te setten, ende dat in die tijt de vleesfijbertjens haar soo veel maalen moeten uijtrekken ende inkrimpen wel voetsel van nooden hebben, ende dat met de uytrekkinge van de vleesfijbertjens de vaatjens als open staan als dan wel voetsel konnen ontfangen. Dese verwonderenswaardige geschapentheijt van de soo genaamde menbraantjens anders menigvuldige vaatjens, ende de onbedenkelijke kleijne vaatjens waar uijt de vleesfijbertjens voor het meerendeel bestaan, sijn noijt mijns oordeels in smenschen gedagten gekoomen en over sulks bij veele geen ingang krijgen, om datse meede seggen soo goede glaasen hebben ende nogtans niet en konnen het verhaalde niet sien.

Ik sal afbreeken, en na seer hooge agtinge blijven<sup>26</sup>

Hare Hoog Edele Heeren Alder-Onderdanigste Dienaar

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

P:S:

Mijn gedienstig versoek is, dat in desen wat gelieft toe te geven, alsoo mijn jaren seer hoog sijn geklommen, en nu als dan onbequaam sijn, tot schrijven. Seeker Heer<sup>27</sup> eenige maanden geleden bij mij komende versogt aan mij, nog eenige ontdekkinge te doen, met bijvoeginge, de vrugten die inden herfst rijp werden konnen langst duuren, en dit is nu inden herfst van mijn dagen, want die sijn nu geklommen, heden tot 88½ jaren, en ik deselve op papier ende ontdekt inde maanden Novemb. ende Decemb. laast leden.

<sup>25</sup> een dubbelde tree, twee passen. L. gaat hier blijkbaar uit van 60 polsslagen en stappen per minuut, terwijl hij in Brief L-559 [XLIII] van 17 september 1717, idem, Dl. 18, en Brief 291 L-484 van 29 december 1711, idem, Dl. 16, zijn eigen polsslag stelde op 72 slagen per minuut.

<sup>26</sup> Het hierna volgende heeft L. zelf geschreven. De volgende brief van L. aan de Royal Society is Brief L-569 van 11 april 1721, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Niet geïdentificeerd.

Addressed to: The Royal Society.

Manuscript: The manuscript is to be found in London, Royal Society, MS 2114, Early

Letters L4.63; 6 quarto pages. There is also preserved a copy of the letter in Letter Book Original, 15.73, 10 pages. It notes erroneously that the letter was read on 1 February 1722 O.S. and that it was translated by JAMES JURIN. For a contemporary English translation of the letter by CONRAD SPRENGELL<sup>1</sup> (not JURIN), see: MS 2115, Early Letters L4.64; 6

pages.

#### PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1721: "Observations upon the Vessels in Several Sorts of Wood, and upon the Muscular Fibres of Different Animals. By the Same Curious and Inquisitive Person." *Philosophical Transactions* 31 (30 April 1721), no. 367, pp. 134-141. - Practically complete English translation of the letter.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 2e en 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 144. - Dutch summary.

#### SUMMARY:

In this letter, L. discusses vessels in wood from Ambon (Indonesia), oakwood, and pinewood. He discusses the muscle fibres of a cow, a whale, and a mouse as well as the structure of a red blood cell.

## REMARKS:

The letter is written in Dutch in an unknown hand. Only the signature and the postscript are written by L. himself. The writer may have taken dictation from L., but he probably made a fair copy of L.'s manuscript. In any event, the writer/copyist used very few capital letters, his punctuation did not distinguish a comma from a period, and he did not start a new paragraph very often. For the sake of readability, the translated text is divided into full sentences, the punctuation is modernized, and the paragraphing follows the text as printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*. The same copyist also wrote Letter L-576 of 13 June 1722, in this volume.

The letter was read a year later, after JAMES JURIN was elected second secretary and editor of the *Philosophical Transactions* on 30 November 1721 O.S., during the 11 February 1722 O.S. meeting of the Royal Society; Royal Society, Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 157-58. It included a long, detailed summary of the letter, beginning, "A translation of Mr. LEEUWENHOECK's Letter of the 24 of January 1721 by Dr. SPRINGAL, containing microscopical observations made upon the texture of wood and flesh was communicated and read," and ending, "Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was ordered thanks, and Dr. SPRINGAL had thanks for making this Translation".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For SPRENGELL, see Letter L-565 of 9 January 1720, n. 1, in this volume.

Delft in Holland the 24th of January 1721<sup>2</sup>

To the very noble sirs the gentlemen of the Royal Society in London

Very noble sirs

When I saw many boards, which were reddish, being carried in next door to my house<sup>3</sup>, I desired to know for what purpose such boards served. I was answered that they had been sold by the East India Company to a cabinetmaker, that they were to be manufactured by him into cabinets, and that they came from the island of Amboina<sup>4</sup>.

I was eager to obtain a little piece of that wood, in order, if it were feasible for me, to discover the vessels in the wood. I got a piece, sawn off from a board, as well as some small pieces of wood that had been sawn off from an end of the board. I cut through them in all conceivable places because I saw that in one place the wood was whitish, and close by it was red, and in another place blackish<sup>5</sup>. Now when I had cut through the wood crosswise, I saw that there were in the length of the wood such large ascending vessels, that - as observed through the magnifying glass - even peas would be able to pass through them. Where the wood had a red colour, these large vessels were filled with [a substance of] a beautiful bright red colour. I imagined that these large vessels were conveying the red substance upwards and conveyed this red substance into the horizontal vessels, which were lying in such large numbers so close to one another that these horizontal vessels with the red substance, with which they were filled, imparted a redder colour to the wood.

Hereupon, I put into a porcelain coffee cup some pieces of wood that had been cut through crosswise into little slices and poured boiling water upon them. When they had been lying in this for some time, and I then observed them through the magnifying glass, I judged that the red substances in the vessels had dissolved and were absorbed by the water. When I put the wood where it was white before the magnifying glass, I found no red substances in the vessels.

What seemed strange to me in this wood was that when I was cutting through the wood lengthwise, I often saw that in one hair's breadth the wood was beautifully red, and that a single hair's breadth higher, the wood was white. Many times, I saw this at one glance, and the little vessels that went upwards seemed to me to be smaller where the wood was red than where it was white. This narrowness of the little red vessels was, I imagine, caused by the red substances that were in the vessels.

I noticed some more particulars in the wood that I shall omit. Further, I observed that in the ascending vessels in oak-wood there were also little vessels that entered the former from aside, and that seemed to my eye to be nothing but very tiny round holes, the most where the horizontal little vessels were. I was convinced that these little vessels united with the ascending vessels of the wood and were pouring a part of the saps present in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> L.'s previous letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-567 of 15 January 1721, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> It is unclear whether L. meant the *Suikerhuis* to the south of his *Gulden Hoofd* or the *Rode Zee* to the north. In 1721, the widow of L.'s printer HENDRICK VAN KROONEVELT lived in the *Suikerhuis*. Another printer, CORNELIS VAN HEUSDEN, lived in the *Rode Zee*. Perhaps one of them needed more cabinets to display books.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ambon and the neighboring islands in the Indonesian Moluccas were governed by the Dutch East India Company after 1605, producing almost all of the world's supply of cloves until the mid-nineteenth century. Previously, L. referred to the island in Letter 119 [115] L-355 to HARMEN VAN ZOELEN.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This description fits what is now called Amboyna wood, *Pterocarpus indicus*.

horizontal vessels into the ascending vessels. I would not have discovered this uniting of the horizontal with the ascending vessels if I had not cut lengthwise through both the horizontal and the ascending ones.

Now when I cut lengthwise through a little branch of an oak tree of a finger's thickness, which in seven years had not grown thicker, in such a way that I was cutting through both the ascending vessels and the horizontal vessels lengthwise, I saw then that the horizontal vessels were lying near to one another in a very great number, and seemed to come forth, as it were, from one eye of a branch, which was admirable to me.

Further I turned my thoughts to the ascending vessels, present in deal, which is also called pinewood. These ascending vessels are so thin as to substance that they provide a fascinating sight, and through the magnifying glass it seems to us as though lying enclosed in the ascending vessels were round little globules that had a small opening in the middle and that appeared to me as though it were a more solid substance than the wood that made up the ascending vessels of the wood. But now, in the course of my closer observation, I find that I have erred in my thoughts, for I find that they are nothing but little vessels or openings, through which both the ascending and the horizontal vessels, which constitute the mass of the wood, are for a great part united to each other and convey the saps to one another.

These observations have led me towards the little fibres of flesh. I said to myself, "Taking into account that THE LORD CREATOR OF THE UNIVERSE<sup>6</sup>, when he fashioned the creatures, brought about very many things in one and the same manner, I ask myself whether the very thin membranes, which, as it were wrap around each little fibre of flesh, are not equipped with an inconceivably large number of little vessels, so in this manner to convey nourishment to each fibre of flesh in very many places in a healthy body."

With that aim, I cut the flesh of a cow into very thin little slices, in such a way that I was cutting through the fibres of flesh crosswise, as far as it was feasible for me. Then I placed these on clean glasses, and when I had moistened them with clean rainwater, I placed them before a very sharp-sighted magnifying glass. Putting this before my eyes, I continued to look at it for so long that the flesh parts, which had been cut across, began to dry. Then I saw in several places that the parts of the fibres of flesh, as it were, tore apart from the little membranes by which they were in some places, as it were, encompassed and from the exceptionally tiny or thin vessels. The fibres stretched other fibres, which were tougher, as far as the axis of a little globule of blood measures? Such a little part of flesh was on the other side so firmly attached to other flesh parts that the little vessels did not break the connection. Thus, nothing but the membrane could be perceived, which, as it were, wrapped around them. And at other parts of the piece of flesh, on which I had not kept my eye, several little flesh parts were lying wholly separated from the membrane, yet in such a way that some tiny particles adhered to them. I concluded about this that they were the little vessels of the membranes that had conveyed the nourishment to the little fibre of flesh.

Now I also had several little fibres of flesh of a cow standing lengthwise before the same magnifying glass. Observing them attentively, I saw very many exceptionally tiny round holes in each fibre of flesh, of which I judged that they were the ones in which the little vessels of the membranes had been situated. These little vessels having been filled with moisture, and the moisture then having evaporated, the holes or openings in the little fibres of flesh could be very clearly discerned by me.

Now because two persons of repute<sup>8</sup> nowadays have attempted to maintain that the

<sup>6</sup> De Heere Maaker van Het Geheel Al. In the Philosophical Transactions, translated as "the Author of Nature".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> A red globule of the blood (erythrocyte) has a diameter of 7.2  $\mu$ .

<sup>8</sup> Not identified.

blood was passing through the little fibres of flesh, and circulates in this manner, I have, by pricking my thumb with a needle, put some blood on the glass on which the little fibres of flesh were standing to be able to judge by my eye in which proportion the size of a globule of blood stands to the width of the openings, of which I have said that they are visible in the little fibres of flesh.

While I was busy with these observations of mine, I caught sight of the painter, whom already for several years I have employed to draw my discoveries. I called him to me, so that I should not be merely on my own, but would have a second person as eyewitness, and secondly, because he has a good judgment, and has also a sharper vision than I have at my very advanced age. I placed before his eyes the tiny holes in the little fibres of flesh, of which he said that he saw them very distinctly. Being satisfied with this, I placed before his eyes the little blood globules, already described above, which were lying in a very great number so much apart from one another, as one rarely sees them. Thereupon, I asked him: when the diameter of an opening of a little hole, or vessel, in a fibre of flesh is set at one, what is, then, the diameter, or axis, of a globule of blood? After a brief silence, I got the answer that the diameter of a little blood globule stood as four to one against an opening of a little vessel in a fibre of flesh. This being so, then, according to the rules of geometry, a little globule of blood would have to be divided into 64 parts if it were to pass into a vessel or hole of a fibre of flesh.

These are in my eyes amazing matters. In my opinion, no one will penetrate farther into the structure of the hidden properties of the flesh and the way in which the nourishment is conveyed towards it, and its continuous maintenance. I must say that I felt pleasure in these latest discoveries, which gave me some comfort with regard to two defamations that I have experienced<sup>10</sup>. Now if a certain gentleman<sup>11</sup>, who stays in a distant country, would have heard of these discoveries, he might well once again write these words to me: to speak without profanity, you are telling us things that no eyes ... etc.

After I had so far put my discoveries on paper, my thoughts returned to the socalled fibres of flesh, consisting in this, that I have previously said that each fibre of flesh was made up of long little strips. But now, not contenting myself with the said observations, and considering the idea that the said little strips, which made up a flesh fibre, might not be little vessels, I have taken for this purpose - because I wanted to start with the largest - the flesh of a whale, which I have had in my possession for some years 12. Cutting this flesh into slices, so that the little fibres of flesh were cut crosswise and placing them, when moistened, onto several glasses and also in front of several magnifying glasses, and observing them with attention, I many times saw that what I had previously taken to be little strips actually were exceptionally tiny vessels. In many fibres of flesh, however, no vessels could be discerned. I think that this was partially caused by the fact that they had dried up so hard, and also because I had not made the cut as correctly as I ought to have done. I also placed the flesh of the whale, cut lengthwise, in front of the magnifying glass, in order also to discover the little vessels that conveyed nourishment from the so-called little membranes to the fibres of flesh. These vessels, which I had cut off and which I could very clearly perceive, were so very numerous that I could not estimate it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> WILLEM VAN DER WILT. See Letter L-566 of 20 November 1720, n. 8, in this volume. The first figures in the *Send-Brieven*, illustrating Letter 296 [I] L-489 of 8 November 1712, *Collected Letters*, vol. 17, are drawn by a more skilled hand than the figures in the previous letter with figures, Letter 293 L-486 of 12 April 1712, *idem*, vol. 16. See Fransen, "Images and Draughtsmen".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Probably L. refers here to the contention of the earlier-named "two persons of repute" (n. 8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Not identified.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See Letter 296 [I] L-489 of 8 November 1712, idem, vol. 17, p. 7.

Thereupon, I took the flesh of a very fat cow, which I also cut through crosswise. Observing this through several sharp-sighted magnifying glasses, I saw that however thin these little fibres of flesh were, yet they were little vessels. I saw also, just as I had seen in the fibres of the whale, the light through the cavities of those little vessels. However, with a cut which went obliquely, however slightly, one could not discern any light through their cavities.

Now I had lying in a drawer a hind quarter of a mouse, which had been lying in that drawer already for several years <sup>13</sup>. I cut, then, crosswise through the large flesh muscle, and in such thin slices at that as was feasible for me. Placing these before magnifying glasses, I saw not only that the little fibres of flesh were of one and the same thickness as those of a cow, but I also saw very distinctly the openness of the little vessels, of which a fibre of flesh consisted for the greater part, and which openings I saw as distinctly as the ones in the flesh of the whale, although in a fibre of flesh of the whale there are as many as six times as many little vessels as in a fibre of the flesh of a cow or a mouse. But then the little fibre of flesh of a whale is six times thicker.

Now I let my thoughts go to the question of how the nourishment may pass from the little vessels, which are called membranes, into the vessels of the little fibres of flesh, seeing that the fibres of flesh, when they are lying at rest, have their spiralling contractions. From this, we cannot but judge that the vessels in the little fibres of flesh lie, as it were, pressed shut. But when we keep in mind that a pedestrian in an hour's time has to put his foot forward as many as 3,600 times - for in the time of a pulsebeat<sup>14</sup> one can make a double step, that is, with putting forward the right foot - and that the little fibres of flesh, in that time span having as many times to extend and to shrink, naturally do need nourishment. During the extending of the little fibres of flesh, the vessels being open, they are, then, capable of receiving nourishment. This admirable nature of the so-called little membranes, or in other words, manifold little vessels, and the inconceivably tiny vessels, of which the fibres of flesh consist for the greater part, has never been, as far as I can judge, imagined by human thought. Therefore, they will not be accepted by many persons, because they will also say that they have equally good glasses and yet are unable to see what has been described here.

I shall finish, and remain with very much respect<sup>15</sup>,

Of you, very noble sirs, the most humble servant,

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

P.S.

It is my humble request that you will be somewhat pleased with regard to this letter, because the number of my years has become very high, and now [my hands] are at times unable to write. A certain gentleman <sup>16</sup>, who visited me some months ago, asked me to make some more discoveries, adding that the fruits that mature in autumn will keep the longest. It is now the autumn of my days, for now on this day they amount to 88½ years. I put these findings on paper, and discovered them, in the months of November and December last.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> L. wrote about mice in 1714 and 1715, most recently in Letter 326 [XXIII] L-532 of 19 May 1716, *ibidem*. See note 4, p. 459.

L. apparently assumes 60 pulse beats and steps per minute, while in Letter L-559 [XLIII] of 17 September 1717, idem, vol. 18, and Letter 291 L-484 of 29 December 1711, idem, vol. 16, he set his own pulse at 72 beats per minute.

The following is written by L. himself. L.'s next letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-569 of 11 April 1721, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Not identified.

Gericht aan: de Royal Society.

Manuscript Het manuscript van deze brief bevindt zich bij de Royal Society, Londen,

Early Letters L4.65; 12 kwartobladzijden; 1 gravure met 7 figuren. Een eigentijdse vertaling van deze brief is te vinden in Londen, Royal Society,

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A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1721: "Observations on the Muscular Fibres of Fish. By Mr. Leeuwenhoeck, F. R. S." *Philosophical Transactions* 31 (31 augustus 1721), no. 368, blz. 190-199, 7 figuren. - Vrijwel volledige Engelse vertaling van de brief.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 2e en 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, blz. 144. - Nederlandse samenvatting.

# SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief bespreekt L. opnieuw verschijnselen waardoor spiervezels worden gevoed door de bloedvaten, dit keer bij vissen.

#### FIGUREN:

Bij deze brief horen zeven figuren. L. zond geen tekeningen, maar een gravure mee met deze brief. De figuren 1-7 zijn te vinden op de plaat bij nr. 368 van de *Philosophical Transactions*.

# OPMERKINGEN:

Het Journal Book Original, Dl. 13, blz. 194 voor 10 mei 1722 geeft aan dat de Royal Society een jaar heeft gewacht, totdat JAMES JURIN op 30 november 1721 tot tweede secretaris en redacteur van *Philosophical Transactions* was gekozen, alvorens deze brief te lezen: "The remaining part of a Letter from Mr. Leeuwenhoeck dated the 11 of April was read. Mr. Leeuwenhoeck was ordered Thanks.'

Delft in Holland den 11e April 1721

Aan de Hoog Edele Heeren Mijn Heeren die vande Coninklijke Societeit in London.

Hoog Edele Heeren

Mijn laaste A[l]deronderdanigste aan Hare Hoog Edele is geweest, den 24e jannuarij laastleden¹, waar in ik kome te handelen vande menigte vaatiens inde vlees fibertiens.

Nu neme ik weder de vrijheijt, dese volgende aanteekening UE: Hoog Edele Heeren te laten toe komen, in verwagtinge datter eenige saaken in sullen sijn waar in een behagen sult vinden.

Verscheijde persoonen hebben tot mij gesegt, ende onder deselve een hoog Leeraar, buijten ons land woonende<sup>2</sup>, dat de Natuur in alle saake op een ende deselve ordre te weeg werd gebragt, dit komt met mijne waar neminge niet over een, soo in de voorteelinge der dieren, en zaaden der planten, nog ook met de vlees muscullen, ende vlees fibertiens niet over een, want de vis deelen en hebben geen trekkers<sup>3</sup>, der halven hebbe ik getragt weder opnieuw, de vis deelen vande Cabbeljaeuw te onder soeken, daar van mijne aanteekeninge de volgende siin.

Na dat ik mijne op nieuw ontdekkinge ontrent de vaatiens inde vlees-fibertiens, soo van Wal-vis, Rund, Schaap, en Muijs, hadde ontdekt, sijn mijne gedagten geloopen op de visfibertiens waarvan wij wel een in beeldinge konnen hebben, dat de Natuur soo danige in geschapenheijt heeft te weeg gebragt inde Vis fibertiens, maar als wij sulks niet konnen versekeren, ende met deze gedagten beladen sijnde, ende in mijn huijs om te spijsigen, een gedeelte van een Cabbeljaeuw die onbesturven was, en welke men krimp Cabbeljaeuw noemt<sup>4</sup>, soo snede ik een stukje vande Vis om hetselvige eenige dagen agter den anderen<sup>5</sup>, door het Vergroot glas te beschouwen.

Ik snede dan dit gedeelte vande Vis, de visfibertiens soo in lengte als over dwars aan stukken, om waar te nemen of ijder vande Vis fibertiens mede uijt seer dunne vaatiens, die inde lengte voor het meerendeel, een vis fibertie waren uijt makende, gelijk ik bevond, want als ik de Visfibertiens wel hadde door sneden, ende de selve door het Vergroot-glas beschouwende oordeelde ik, datter immers soo veel vaatiens inde lengte van een vis fibertie waren, als ik geseijt hebbe, datter in een vleesfibertie van het wal-vis vlees is<sup>6</sup>.

Maar het aan merkenste dat mij inde visfibertjens voor quam, dat was, dat ik in veele vis fibertiens, daar in ik geen vaatiens en konde bekennen, veel vaatiens ontdekten, die mij toe scheenen, dat ze uijt de soo genaamde menbraantiens voort quamen, die de visfibertiens om

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De vorige brief van L. aan de Royal Society is Brief L-568 van 24 januari 1721, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Niet geïdentificeerd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Voor L.'s gebruik van trekker, pees, zie Brief L-548 [XXXIII] van 6 maart 1717, Alle de Brieven, Dl. 18, voetnoot 2.

Krimpen is het in stukken snijden van een vis terwijl hij nog leeft of voordat rigor mortis intreedt, waardoor de spieren van de vis samentrekken en stevig worden. Zie Brief 193 [111] L-342 van 9 mei 1698, idem, Dl. 12, blz. 228: 'De vis die eenige tijd doot geweest heeft, de Muscullen ofte Vis deelen vande selvige, als we ze ontstukken snijden, niet korter sullen worden, dat wij krimpen noemen, en bij gevolg dan, zijn de Visdeelen vande Vis zoo hard, nog soo smakelijk niet, als die deelen vande Vis zouden zijn geweest, wanneer ze nog onbestorven zijnde, ontstukken was gesneden.'

<sup>5</sup> agter den anderen, na elkaar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Zie Brief 307 [XI] L-506 van 21 augustus 1714, idem, Dl. 17.

vangen, want verscheijde vaatiens quame als uijt den ommetrek, ofte uijt de huijt van een Vis fibertie dat wel een circulare ronte hadde voort, ende gingen tot aan de ander sijde als inde huijt vande vis fibertie, ende in een ander door snede vis fibertie, sag ik dat uijt den ommetrek van een door snede vis fibertie voort komende, sig ontrent int midden van het selve komende<sup>7</sup> in verscheijde spranken verspreijde, die alle soo veel het mij toescheen, na ofte in den ommetrek van het vis fibertie eijndigde, en ik hebbe in een vis fibertie wel gesien, datter wel vijftig vaatiens waren, die door malkanderen liepen.

Uijt dese waarneminge verwierp ik mijn eerste gedagten hier in bestaande, dat ik dagt, dat de vaatiens, uijt het soo genaamde menbraantie voort komende, eijndigden in het rokje<sup>8</sup> van het vis fibertie, ende alsoo het voetsel aan het Visfibertie toe bragt. Maar nu ontdekkende, dat de vaatiens uijt het menbraantie voort komende, in het vis fibertie niet en eijndigt, maar in takjens verspreijt, en tot versch[e]ijde sijden, van binne tot inde rok van het fibertie in gaat, soo hebbe ik in gedagte genomen, of dese seer kleijne vaatiens de sappe waar mede deselve sijn versien, soo wel niet en circulere als ons bloet inde bloet vaatiens doet, ende dat het toe voerende sap, dat ze aan ende inde vis fibertiens toe brengt, alleen maar als sijpelt door de rokjens van die vaatiens, gelijk ik hebbe geseijt, dat het met de dunne vaatiens inde Dieren toe gaat, die ook geen ander eijnden hebben, als de arterie uijt het Hert komende ende de Vena int Hert eijndige, ende dus arterie en vena een vat sijnde.

Als ik nu veel vis fibertiens voor mijn gesigt hadde staan daar in ik de geseijde vaatiens seer klaar konde bekennen, soo en konde ik inde over dwars gesnedene vis fibertiens geen vaatiens die voor het meerendeel een visfibertie uijtmaakt bekennen, dat ik mij in beelt, veroorsaakt wierde, om dat ik de Visfibertiens schuijs hadde door sneden, ende de holligheden van de vaatiens niet voor het gesigt staande, in veele vis fibertiens geen openinge, nog dat na een opening was gelijkende was te bekennen.

Ook hebbe ik verscheijde malen, tussen de visfibertiens de menigvuldige vaatiens, die men menbraantiens noemt, en welke vaatiens de vis fibertiens als om vangen, in soo een menigte, bij den anderen lagen, dat ze de dikte uijtmaakten als een vis fibertie, en welke menigte van vaatiens alleen (beelt ik mij in) dus alleen bij een lagen, om haar tussen de vis fibertiens te verspreijen.

Maar als ik agt gaf, op de gantsche muscul van een Cabbeljaeuw, ende der selver vis fibertiens, waar uijt een muscul is bestaande, die veelmaal haar dikte is, als de rugge van een broot mes, en haar dunste eijnde als een enkel vis fibertie, sijn dikte, ende veele vis fibertiens ontrent twee maal soo lang als een vis muscul dik is, ende tussen dese vis musculle leggen die deelen, die men menbrane noemt, maar waarlijk vaatiens sijn, die niet alleen tussen de vis fibertiens gaan. maar selfs inde visfibertiens in gaan, ende die vaatiens sijn die wij komen te sien, als wij de vis fibertiens over dwars komen te door snijden, ende door welke vaatiens de vis fibertiens, en bij gevolg ook de vis muscultiens soo vast aan malkanderen sijn vereenigt, datze met den anderen voor trekkers dienen.

Gelijk nu de vis fibertiens, aan de vis beenen<sup>9</sup>, soo het ons toe schijnt, sijn vereenigt, soo sijn het dog niet anders, als aan de vaatiens, die uijt de vis beenen voort komen, ende die men inde dieren been vliesen noemt.

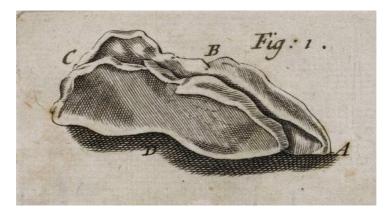
Om dat ik hier kome te spreeken vande muscul van een Cabbeljaeuw, ende den duijsenst[e] mens niet een weet wat ik de muscul van een Cabbeljaeuw noem, soo hebbe ik twee musculs van een gemene groote van een Cabbeljaeuw, soo als deselve met den anderen sijn vereenigt geweest, ende van den anderen gescheijden waren, ende nevens den anderen leggende, hebbe laten af teijkenen als hier fig: 1. met ABCD. werd aan gewesen, sijnde het

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In het handschrift een moeilijk leesbare verschrijving.

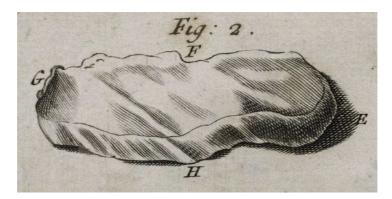
<sup>8</sup> het rokje, de wand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> vis beenen, graten; blijkens het WNT, Dl. 21, kol. 1059, eigenlijk alleen van grote vissen gezegd.

geene met ABC. met de huijt bedekt geweest, na het hooft, en soo danige musculs gelegen inde dikte vande Cabbeljaeuw, ende ik beelt mij in, dat soo een gantse rije van het hooft, tot aan het eijnde vande staart gestrekt leggen.



Nu hadde ik een enkel Cabbeljaeuws muscultje laten afteijkenen als hier fig: 2. met EFGH. werd aan gewesen, waar aan met EHG. der selver dikte werd aan gewesen, ende met EFG. daar het soo dun was, als de snede van een broot mes.



Dese vis muscultjens vande Cabbeljaeuw, al hoe wel ze al verscheijde dagen voor mijn gesigt op het papier hadde gelegen, en waren soo niet in gedroogt, of ik konde deselve aan stukken schuuren waar van een stukje van een muscul met fig: 3 tussen I en K. werd aangewesen, om aan te wijsen hoe schuijs de vis fibertiens, in dat stukje vis loopen, die met streepjens werden aan gewesen.



Nu liepen mijn gedagten op de Rivier-vis, ende wel op de baars, ende alsoo ik mij wel hebbe in gebeelt, dat een kleijn baarsje met soo veel vis fibertiens is versien, als een groote baars, dat over sulks de vis fibertiens int groot werden vande baars niet in meerder getal, maar alleen in groote sijn toe nemende, en hoe grooter dan de vis fibertiens hoe naakter de vaatiens, waar uijt de vis fibertiens mogte bestaan te bekenne waren, soo hebbe ik mijn bediende<sup>10</sup> op een markt dag, als wanneer veel vissers met Rivier-vis ter markt komen, gesonden met ordre om de grootste baars te koopen, die daar te bekomen was: hier op brengtse mij een baars, die ik noijt grooter gesien hadde, want de selve woog 3½ pont<sup>11</sup>, ende was lang 17½ duijm delfse maat die met de Rijn Lantse maat over een komt<sup>12</sup>.

Ik snede vier stukken van de Vis, als twee ontrent de rugge bij het hooft, en twee stukken na de buijk, daar de vis dik was, dese stukken vis liet ik leggen, om des anderen daags te beschouwen; bij veele menschen, werd de groote baars veragt, om datze zeggen, dat ze vreet<sup>13</sup> van vis is, dat ik mede haar toe sta, maar soo danige en sien niet aan, de tijd van het jaar, en haar is onbekent, wanneer de groote baars op haar smakelijkste is, want als de Baars alder gevoest is, dat inde maanden julij, Augustij, Septemb. en octob., dan is deselve op sijjn harst<sup>14</sup>, maar als het lichaam vande baars, wat van sijn groot voetsel af neemt, ende dat het voetsel tot de kuijt ofte hom over gaat, ende groot werden, dat is inde maanden december en jannuarij, dan is de baars smakelijk, ende daar van heb ik mij al eenige jaren van bedient.

Dese geseijde groote baars hebbe ik gespijst int begin vande maant februarij, ende dat met groote en aangename smaak, als ik oijt groote baars hebbe genuttigt, ende deselve hadde tot mijn verwondering, veel vet aan de darmen, daar de kuijt al groot was.

Dog men neemt de goede smaak vande groote baars weg, om dat men de vis weijnig sneden geeft, ende dus de muscullen in haar geheel laat. Seeker Heer van naam<sup>15</sup>, eenige jaren geleden mij ontmoetende, spreekt mij aan, vragende hoe ik de groot[e] baars handelde gaf tot antwoort, ik kerf de selfde digt aan beijde de sijden, ende dat soo diep tot op de graat, gelijk wij de Schel-vis doen, waar op de Heer sig vergenoegt toonende seggende soo doe ik mede, en wanneer men de baars soo diep kerft, men soude meerder agtinge voor deselve hebben, want dan neemt de vis het sout beter aan, is eerder gaar gekookt, en ook malser, dan als men deselve maar aan ijder sijde, maar twee à drie sneden geeft, gelijk men gemeenlijk doet.

Des anderen daags, doorsogt ik de visfibertiens soo in 16 lengte, als inde breete, en ik sag, dat de visfibertiens van dese groote baars, niet soo dik waren als de vis fibertiens van de Cabbeljaeuw.

Wanneer ik de Vis fibertiens vande groote baars, in haar lengte was door snijdende quamen mij de openinge in soo een groote menigte voor mij niet te gelooven soude wesen, ten ware ik het selve quam te sien.

Nu hadde ik ook de visfibertiens vande Baars over dwars door sneden, en waar genomen, dat de visfibertiens vande geseijde Baars, dunder waren, als die vande Cabbeljaeuw

JOSINA VAN DER SPRENKEL (1689-1757), dochter van pottenbakker ROBBREGT PIETERSZ VAN DER SPRENKEL (1656-1734) en zijn eerste vrouw, CORNELIA JACOBS VAN DER BILT, was misschien al in 1705 het dienstmeisje van L. en zijn dochter MARIA (1656-1745). Veertig jaar later erfde zij het huis aan de Oosteinde dat aan MARIA's moeder BARBARA DE MEIJ was nagelaten voordat het op MARIA overging. Toen VAN DER SPRENKEL in 1757 stierf, werd ze als 'vrijster' genoteerd in de Vlamingstraat. Twee van haar jongere stiefzusters, BARBARA (1712-1784) en JUDICK (geb. 1726), werkten als dienstmeisjes voor MARIA na de dood van L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Een Rijnlands *pond* was destijds 476 gram. *3½ pont* komt dus overeen met circa 1,67 kg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Een Rijnlandse *duijm* was 2,61 cm. '17½ duijm' is daarmee 45,7 cm.

<sup>13</sup> vreet, wreed, stug.

<sup>14</sup> harst, hardst, stevigst.

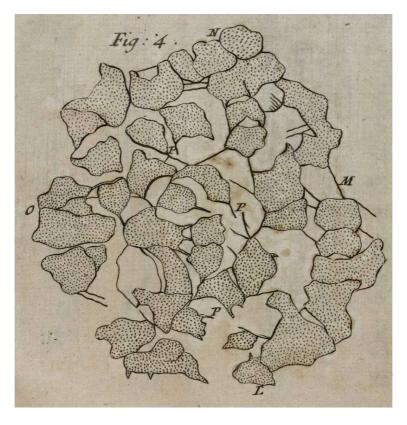
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Niet geïdentificeerd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> In het hs. twee maal *in*.

die van een gemene groote was, ende de vaatiens die voor het meerendeel een vis fibertie van een baars waren uijt makende, stonde soo digt bij den anderen, als ik vis ofte vlees fibertiens, van andere schepsels hadde gesien.

Omme een beter denkbeelt van de visfibertiens, ende der selver menigvuldige vaatiens waar uijt de visfibertiens voor het meerendeel bestaan, soo hadde ik eenige weeken geleden, verscheijde over dwars ontstukken gesnede vis fibertiens voor het Vergroot-glas gestelt, ende om de groote koude het afteikenen van een kleijn gedeelte vande vis uijt gestelt, ende alsoo ik de vis deeltiens niet op het glas geplaast hadde, op dat deselve een aan kleventheijt aan het glas soude hebben, soo hebbe ik een kleijn gedeelte vande geseijde vis fibertiens, over dwars door sneden sijnde, en waar van de vis fibertiens veel in gedroogt sijnde, ende alsoo van haar vaatiens waar in de visfibertiens omwonden leggen, voor het grooste gedeelte sijn af geschuurt, laten af teijkenen als hier fig: 4 met LMNO. werd aangewesen, ende alsoo men de openinge inde door gesnede vis fibertiens soo distinct komt te sien, ende dat niet een ofte tien, maar duijsende, ende dat met een opslag, die men hare openinge om der selver kleijnheijt, door den teijkenaar niet en sijn na te volgen, soo heeft den selven inde door sneden vis fibertiens die met stipjens aan gewesen.

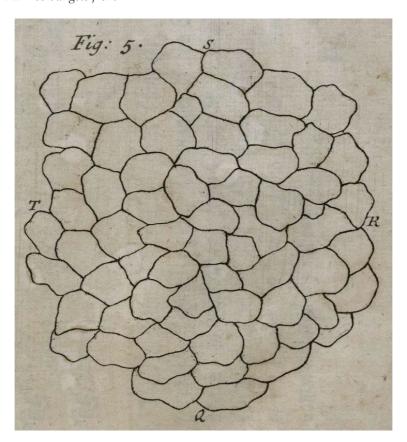
Als ook mede werd inde geseijde fig: aangewesen, de soo genaamde vliesjens, dat waarlijk niet en sijn als Vaatiens, die de vis fibertiens niet alleen omkleeden, maar selfs tot inde vis fibertiens in gaan, die eenige het in droogen, niet en hebben konnen weer staan, maar sijn ontstukken gebrooken, als bij PPP. werd aan gewesen.



Na dat den teijkenaar fig: 4. hadde afgeteijkent bragt ik ontrent een spelde hooft groote water op het af geteijkende stukje van[de] vis fibertiens, het water soo danig soude in

dringen, dat ze alle hare uijt breijdinge, soude aan nemen, als ze hadden, doen ik ze op het glas plaaste, ende doen den teijkenaar belaste af te teijkenen, het geene hij quam te sien, uijt gesondert, dat hij geen vaatiens soude aan wijsen, maar alleen de ommetrekken, aan te halen dat hij afmaalde<sup>17</sup> als hier fig: 5. met QRST. werd aangewesen.

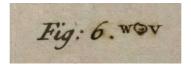
Vorders hadde ik een geerst greijntie<sup>18</sup> door klooft, ende een vande door kloofde deelen op het glas geplaast nevens fig: 4, ende het selvige den teijkenaar inde hand gegeven, op dat den selven oordeelen soude wat meer plaats besloeg het geseijde halve geerst greijntie ofte fig: 4. en waar op geantwoort wierde dat het halve geerst greijntie, meer plaats besloeg, als fig: 4. ende soo dede ook een tweede die het sag, waar uijt men wel een besluijt kan maken, in wat een kleijn gedeelte van vis, soo een menigte van vis fibertiens, in soo een kleijne spatie leggen op geslooten, die ijder met soo veel vaatiens, en welk half geerst greijntie den teijkenaar fig: 6. tussen VW. heeft af geteijkent.



Vorders hadde ik de vis deelen van een snoek, voorn, scharren, en Heijl-bot, door het Vergroot-glas mede beschout, ende waar genomen, dat de visfibertiens mede uijt kleijne vaatiens waren te samen gestelt, als ik vande Cabbeljaeuw, en baars hebbe geseijt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> dat hij afmaalde, hetgeen hij afbeeldde.

<sup>18</sup> een geerst greijntie heeft een diameter van ongeveer 2 mm.



Nu was mijn voor nemen, om de vis fibertiens vande spiering te onder soeken, om te sien, of de visfibertiens mede versien waren met vaatiens, maar de spiering mij missende quam mij int oog, de gerookte sprot, en ik nam een vande grootste sprotte, en die was een weijnig langer als vijf duijmen en ik sag tot mijn verwondering dat de vis fibertiens vande sprot, weijnig dunder waren als de vis fibertiens vande groote baars hier vooren verhaalt, ende dat de vaatiens, waar uijt soo een vis fibertie was bestaande, bij na soo veel in getal waren als inde vis fibertiens vande geseijde baars.

Uijt dese waar neminge soude eenige wel een besluijt maken, dat de vlees fibertiens van de dieren, mede wel van soo danige groote of dikte waren als die van de vissen, ende wel voor die geene, die mijne voor gaande waarneminge niet en hebben gesien, soo hebbe ik goet gedagt, een seer kleijn gedeelte van een swaar rund te laten af teijkenen, ende dat door het selfde Vergroot-glas daar de voor gaande sijn af geteijkent, om aan te wijsen de hoe dikte vande gedroogde vlees fibertiens, ende der selver vaatiens, waar uijt deselve voor het meerendeel sijn bestaande als hier fig: 7. met XYZ. werden aangewesen.



Ik hebbe ook den teijkenaar af gevraagt hoe veel vaatiens, hij in soo een over dwars doorsneden vleesfibertie quam te sien, na een scharpe toe sigt, seijde hij tot mij ik sie daar wel daar in ik vijf en twintig vaatiens tel.

Naderhand bragt men tot mij een spieringtie ter lengte van ontrent twee leden van een vinger, en ik stelde de vis-fibertiens over dwars door sneden voor het Vergroot-glas, voor mijn gesigt, en ik sag niet alleen, dat de vis-fibertiens wel twee maal soo dik waren, als de vlees fibertiens van een rund, maar ik sag ook dat dese vis-fibertiens, soo wel versien waren, met vaatiens, als ik in andere vis fibertiens hadde ontdekt.

Als wij nu sien dat, de visfibertiens vande vissen veel maal dikker sijn als de vlees fibertiens vande Dieren, soo hebben wij onse gedagten laten gaan, wat redenen datter mogten sijn waarom de HEERE MAKER VAN HET GEHEEL AL sulks geschapen hadde, dog voor mij en konde ik geen andere redenen te binnen brengen, als dat de vissen int water swemmende, de vis fibertiens geen gewelt en hebben te lijden, om hare lighame int water te houden, na de maal de selve hare lighame seer na met de swaarheijt van het water over een komen, ende de vis fiberen geen ander gewelt werd aan gedaan, dan alsse voort swemmen om haar voetsel na te jagen, daar in tegendeel veel dieren niet alleen hare vlees fibertiens het gewelt van haare lighame moeten dragen, maar eenige als geschapen sijn, om lasten te dragen, ende te arbeijden,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Vermoedelijk spreekt L. hier van een bezoek aan de vismarkt tegenover zijn huis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Een Rijnlandse *duijm* is 2,62 cm. 'vijf duijmen' is daarmee ongeveer 13 cm.

ende uijt dien hoofde, de vlees muscullen ook starker mosten wesen, dan de vis muscullen, want wij moeten vast stellen dat hoe men fijnder lange deelen, tot seekere dikte te same voegt, ende die deelen nog met den anderen als vereenigt, starker sullen sijn, dan of men dikker deelen te samen voegde tot gelijke dikte, als de te samen gevoegde dunne deelen ende dus de vlees muscullen starker als de vis muscullen dog ik geef dit aan andere over.

Moeten wij niet als verbaast staan, als wij sien wat verwonderen waardige kleenheden in het vlees en vis leggen op geslooten, die noijt in onse gedagten sijn gekomen, en wij beelden ons in, datter nog veel wonderen in verborgen leggen, die het menschelijk geslagt, niet en sal ontdekken. Ik sal af breeken, en na seer hooge agtinge blijven

Hoog Edele Heeren Uwe Hoog Edele Heere Alder Onderdanigste Dienaar

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

P.S.

Op gisteren krijg ik bij geval een graeuwe Ert<sup>21</sup> inde hand die gekookt was, en ik brenge een weijnig van die stoffe die wij meel noemen, voor het Vergroot-glas, en sag, dat de meel stoffe bestond uijt soo danige deelen, die over een quamen, met den drek van Rotten<sup>22</sup>, ende dat dese deelen weder bestonden, uijt seer veel kleijne deelen, sonder dat ik de vliesen, waar in ijder vande geseijde deelen als opgeslooten leggen konde bekennen, waar uijt ik een besluijt maakte, dat de vliesen, door de hitte veel waren ontdaan, ende met het water als vereenigt.

Hier op nam ik een ongekookte graeuwe Ert, en ik snij de selfde mede aan schijfjens, en ik sag niet alleen de vliesen, daar in de geseijde deelen als op geslooten leggen, maar nu sag ik ook dat die vliesen niet en bestonden, als uijt vaatiens, seer na over een komende, met de soo genaamde menbrane, anders vaatiens geseijt, die de vlees en vis muscullen, ende vlees en vis fibertiens als om kleeden.

Mijn voornemen $^{23}$  is, dese verwonderens waardige te samen gestel nader te beschouwen, alleen voor mijn plaijsier $^{24}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> een graeuwe Ert, kapucijner.

<sup>22</sup> Rotten, ratten.

Na voor zijn enige letters doorgehaald; waarschijnlijk stond er eerst voorneemens, maar het woord is onzorgvuldig gecorrigeerd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> De volgende brief van L. aan de Royal Society is Brief L-570 van 27 juni 1721 in dit deel.

Addressed to: The Royal Society.

Manuscript: The manuscript of this letter is to be found in London, Royal Society,

Early Letters L4.65; 12 quarto pages; 1 engraving with 7 figures. There is also preserved a contemporary translation of the letter in Early Letters

L4.66, 8 folio pages.

# PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1721: "Observations on the Muscular Fibres of Fish. By Mr. Leeuwenhoeck, F. R. S." *Philosophical Transactions* 31 (31 August 1721), no. 368, pp. 190-199, 7 figures. - Practically complete English translation.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 2e en 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, blz. 144. – Dutch summary.

#### SUMMARY:

In this letter, L. again discusses the phenomena through which the muscle fibres are nourished by the blood vessels, this time in fish.

#### FIGURES:

Seven figures came with this letter. Rather than sending drawings, L. sent a single engraving accompanying this letter. The figures 1-7 are to be found on the plate with no. 368 of the *Philosophical Transactions*.

# **REMARKS:**

The Journal Book Original, vol. 13, p. 194, for 10 May 1722 indicates that the Royal Society waited a year before reading this letter, until JAMES JURIN was elected second secretary and editor of the *Philosophical Transactions* on 30 November 1721: "The remaining part of a Letter from Mr. Leeuwenhoeck dated the 11 of April was read. Mr. Leeuwenhoeck was ordered Thanks."

Delft in Holland, the 11th of April 1721

To the very noble gentlemen The gentlemen of the Royal Society in London.

Very noble sirs

My last most humble letter to Your Honours was the one of the 24th of January last<sup>1</sup>, in which I discussed the multitude of little vessels in the fibres of flesh.

Now I take again the liberty to send to you, very noble sirs, the following note, expecting that some matters will be in it, in which you will find pleasure.

Several people have said to me, and among them a professor who lives in a foreign country<sup>2</sup>, that nature in all matters operates following one and the same order. This does not agree with my observations, neither with regard to the procreation of animals and the seeds of plants, nor with regard to the flesh muscles and little fibres of flesh, for the fish parts have no tendons<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, I have once again tried to investigate the fish parts of the cod, on which my notes are the following.

After I had made my new discoveries with regard to the little vessels in the fibres of flesh of a whale, as well as of a cow, sheep, and mouse, my thoughts turned towards the little fish fibres. About them, we may have an idea that nature has brought about such an innate structure in the little fish fibres, but about this we cannot be sure. With these thoughts weighing on my mind, there being in my house a part of a cod for dinner, which was very fresh, and which is called "crimp-cod4", I cut off a little piece from the fish, in order to view this for several days in succession through the magnifying glass.

Then, in this part of the fish, I cut the little fish fibres to pieces, both lengthwise and crosswise, so as to observe whether each of the fish fibres also consisted of very thin little vessels, which constituted lengthwise the greater part of a fish fibre. I indeed found it to be, for when I cut through the little fibres of fish correctly, and observed them through the magnifying glass, I judged that there were certainly as many little vessels in the length of a little fish fibre as I have said that there are present in a little fibre of the flesh of a whale<sup>5</sup>.

But the most remarkable thing I saw in the little fibres of fish was that in many fish fibres, in which I could perceive no little vessels, I discovered many little vessels that seemed to me to come forth from the so-called little membranes that encompass the fish fibres. For several little vessels came, as it were, out of the circumference, or skin, of a fish fibre, which had a circular shape, and at the other side they passed into the skin of the fish fibre. In another cut-across fish fibre, I saw that little vessels coming forth from the circumference of the cut-across fish fibre divided themselves into several branches when they had come approximately to its centre. All of this, as far as I could see, ended close by, or in, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> L.'s previous letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-568 of 24 January 1721, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> L. writes trekkers, literally "pullers". See Letter L-548 [XXXIII] of 6 March 1717, Collected Letters, vol. 18, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Crimping is cutting up a fish while it is still alive or before rigor mortis sets in, which will make the fish's muscles contract and become firm. Letter 193 [111] L-342 of 9 May 1698, idem, vol. 12, p. 229: "Fish which has been dead for some time that the muscles or the fishy parts thereof, when we cut them to pieces, do not grow shorter - which we call crimping - and consequently the fishy parts of the fish are not as hard and tasty as those parts of the fish would have been if it had been cut to pieces while still fresh."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Letter 307 [XI] L-506 of 21 August 1714, idem, vol. 17.

circumference of the fish fibre. Sometimes I have seen in a fish fibre that there were as many as fifty little vessels running every way.

On the grounds of this observation, I rejected my first notion, consisting of this: I thought that the little vessels, springing from the little so-called membrane, ended in the wall of the fish fibre, and so conveyed the nourishment to the fish fibre. But now, discovering that the vessels springing from the membrane do not come to an end within the fish fibre, but divide themselves into little branches and on various sides enter the membrane of the little fish fibre from within, therefore this idea occurred to me. In these very tiny vessels, the fluids with which they are provided are circulating, just as our blood does in the blood vessels. The supply of fluid, which they convey to, and into, the fish fibres, merely trickles through the membranes of those little vessels, just as I have said that it happens in the case of the thin vessels in the animals, which have no other endings either, save the artery, which comes from the heart, and the vena, which ends up in the heart, artery and vena thus being a single vessel.

Now when I had many fish fibres standing before my eyes, in which I could perceive the said little vessels very clearly, I could not perceive in the cut-across fish fibres any vessels of the kind that constitutes the larger part of a fish fibre. This, I imagine, was caused by the fact that I had cut through the fish fibres obliquely, and that, the cavities of the little vessels not lying within sight, in many fish fibres no aperture, or anything that resembled an aperture, was to be discerned.

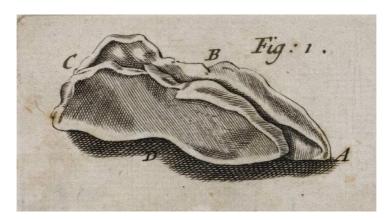
Several times I have also seen between the fish fibres the manifold little vessels that are called membranes. These vessels, as it were, encompass the fish fibres and were lying close to one another in such a great number that they came up to the thickness of a little fibre of fish. This multitude of vessels, I imagine, were merely lying together in this way in order to spread themselves between the little fish fibres.

But when I considered the muscle of a cod in its entirety, and its little fish fibres of which a muscle consists, I saw that it often is as thick as the back of a breadknife, and its thinnest end as thick as a single little fish fibre. Many fish fibres are about twice as long as the thickness of a fish muscle. And between these fish muscles are lying those parts that are called membranes, but which actually are little vessels. They not only run between the fish fibres, but they even enter into the fish fibres. They are the vessels that we see when we cut through the little fish fibres crosswise. Through these vessels, the fish fibres and, consequently, the little muscles of the fish are so firmly attached to one another that together they serve as tendons.

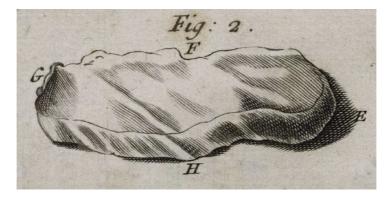
Now whereas the little fish fibres, as it seems to us, are attached to the fish bones, yet they are attached to nothing else but to the little vessels which come forth from the fish bones, and which in animals are called bone membranes<sup>6</sup>.

Because here I discuss the muscle of a cod, and of a thousand persons not one knows what I call the muscle of a cod, I had two cod muscles of an average size drawn, so as they had been united to one another and were separated from the other, and the one lying close to the other, as is shown here in Fig. 1 ABCD. ABC is the part that was covered by the skin close to the head. Such muscles were lying in the thickness of the cod, and I imagine that in this way a whole array of them lies extended from the head to the end of the tail.

<sup>6</sup> L. wrote been vliesen, literally, bone membranes, or periostea, a word not used in English until later in the century.



Now I had a single little muscle of the cod drawn, as is shown here in Fig. 2 with EFGH, in which with EHG its thickness is shown, and with EFG where it was as thin as the cutting edge of a breadknife.



Although these little fish muscles had already been lying on the paper in my sight for several days, they had not yet dried so much that I could not tear them to pieces. A little piece of it is shown in Fig. 3 between I and K, in order to show how obliquely the fish fibres run in that piece of fish, which fibres are represented by little lines.



Now my thoughts turned towards freshwater fish, and especially towards the perch. I have at times thought that a little perch is equipped with as many fish fibres as a large perch, that therefore with the growth of the perch the fish fibres are not increasing as to number, but merely as to size. Then, the larger the fish fibres are, the more clearly the little vessels, of

which the fish fibres might consist, were to be perceived. Therefore, I sent my servant<sup>7</sup> on a market day (when many fishermen come to the market with freshwater fish) with the order to buy the largest perch that was to be obtained there. Hereupon she brings a perch to me, of which I had never seen a larger one. It weighed 3½ pounds<sup>8</sup> and its length was 17½ inches of the measure of Delft, which tallies with the Rhineland measure<sup>9</sup>.

I cut four pieces from the fish, to wit, on the backside close to the head, and two pieces close to the belly where the fish was thick. I left these pieces of fish lying in order to observe them the next day. The large perch is despised by many people, because they say that its flesh is tough, which I too grant to them. But such people do not take the time of the year into account, and it is unknown to them when the large perch is most tasty. For when the perch is fully fed, that is, in the months of July, August, September, and October, it is the toughest. But when the body of the perch uses up some of its large reserve of food, and when the food is converted into soft or hard roe and the latter grow as to size, that is, in the months of December and January, then the perch is tasty. Already for several years I have availed myself of this.

I ate this large perch, just mentioned, in the beginning of the month of February, and I enjoyed it as much as any perch I have ever eaten. To my amazement, it had much fat on the intestines, although the hard roe was already large.

The nice taste of the large perch is lost, however, because people make few cuts in the fish, and so leave the muscles whole. A certain gentleman of repute<sup>10</sup>, meeting me some years ago, addresses me, asking how I dealt with a large perch, and I answered: I carve it on both sides, with the cuts near to one another, and that as deep as the bone, just as we do with the haddock. Upon that, the gentleman showed his pleasure, saying, I do so, too, and when the perch is carved thus deeply, it will be better valued. For then the fish absorbs the salt better, it is sooner done, and also more tender than when one makes no more than two to three cuts in it on each side, as is commonly done.

The next day I searched through the little fish fibres both lengthwise and crosswise, and I saw that the fish fibres of this large perch were less thick than the fish fibres of the cod.

When I cut through the fish fibres of the large perch lengthwise, the apertures were visible for me in such a great number that it would have been incredible for me if I had not seen it myself.

Now I also cut through the little fish fibres of the perch crosswise and observed that the fish fibres of the said perch were thinner than the ones of a cod, which had an average size. The little vessels, which constituted the greater part of a fish fibre of a perch, were as close to one another as I have seen the fish- or flesh fibres of other creatures to be.

In order to give a better idea of the fish fibres and their manifold little vessels, of which the fish fibres for the greater part consist, I some weeks ago put before the magnifying glass several fish fibres, which had been cut crosswise. Because severe cold postponed the drawing of a small part of the fish and because I had not put the fish parts on the glass because they would have got stuck to the glass, I then had drawn a small part of the said fish

JOSINA VAN DER SPRENKEL (1689-1757), daughter of potter ROBBREGT PIETERSZ VAN DER SPRENKEL (1656-1734) and his first wife, CORNELIA JACOBS VAN DER BILT, was the maid of L. and his daughter MARIA (1656-1745), perhaps as early as 1705. Forty years later, she inherited the house on the Oosteinde that had been bequeathed to MARIA's mother BARBARA DE MEIJ (1629-1666) before it passed to MARIA. When VAN DER SPRENKEL died in 1757, she was noted as a spinster (vrijster) living on the Vlamingstraat. Two of her younger stepsisters, BARBARA (1712-1784) and JUDICK (b. 1726), worked as maids for MARIA after L.'s death.

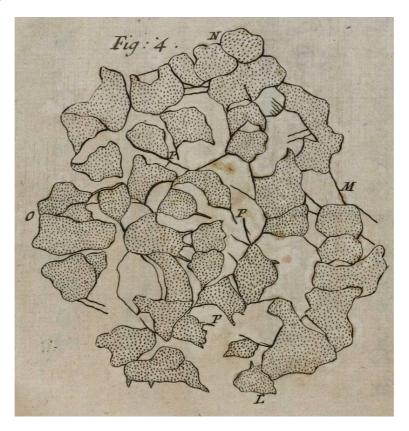
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> A Rhineland pound was 476 g. "3½ pont" therefore corresponds to approximately 1.67 kg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> A Rhineland "duijm" or inch was 2.61 cm. "17½ duijm" is therefore 45.7 cm.

<sup>10</sup> Not identified.

fibres, which had been cut across and of which the fish fibres had dried to a great extent. Through this, they are torn loose for the greater part from their little vessels, in which the fish fibres lie wrapped up, as is shown here in Fig. 4 with LMNO. Because one sees the apertures in the cut fish fibres so distinctly, and moreover, not a single one, or ten, but thousands of them, and that with a view that – due to their minuteness – cannot be imitated by the draughtsman, so he has indicated these cut fish fibres with dots.

In the said figure, the so-called little membranes are also shown, which actually are nothing but little vessels that not only encompass the fish fibres but even enter into the fish fibres. Some of them have not been able to hold out against the drying, but have broken to pieces, as is shown at PPP.

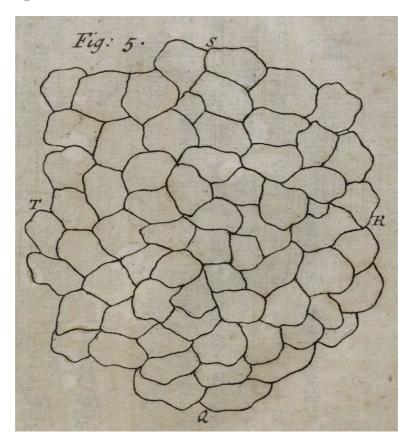


After the draughtsman had drawn Fig. 4, I put a quantity of water about the size of a pinhead upon the depicted little piece of the fish fibres so that the water would penetrate into them in such a way that they would assume their full size, which they had when I put them on the glass. I had the draughtsman depict what he saw, except that he was not to draw any vessels, but only to indicate their contours with a line, which he depicted as is shown here in Fig. 5 with QRST.

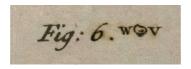
Furthermore, I split a little grain of millet<sup>11</sup> in two, and put one of the cleft parts on the glass beside Fig. 4, and put this into the hands of the draughtsman, in order that he would give his opinion which took up more space, the said half of the grain of millet or Fig. 4. The

<sup>11</sup> A little grain of millet has a diameter of about 2 mm.

answer to this was that the half of the grain of millet took up more space than Fig. 4. Another person who saw it also gave this opinion, from which one might well conclude in how small a part of fish such a multitude of fish fibres lies enclosed, in such a little space, each of which is equipped with so many little vessels. The draughtsman has depicted this half of the grain of millet in Fig. 6, between WW.



Furthermore, I also observed the fish parts of a pike, roach, dabs, and halibut through the magnifying glass, and perceived that the little fibres of fish also were composed of little vessels, as I have said of the cod and of the perch.



Now I had planned to investigate the little fish fibres of the smelt, in order to see whether the fish fibres were also equipped with little vessels. But when I did not come across any smelt, I caught sight of smoked sprats 12. I took one of the largest sprats, and this was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> L. is perhaps speaking about a visit to the saltwater fish market across the canal from his house.

slightly longer than five inches <sup>13</sup>, and to my amazement I saw that the fish fibres of the sprat were slightly thinner than the fish fibres of the large perch, discussed above, and that the little vessels of which such a fish fibre consisted were about as many in number as in the fish fibres of the said perch.

From these observations some people would well conclude that the flesh fibres of animals were also of such a size and thickness as those of fishes. In particular, for those people who have not seen my previous observations, I have thought it useful to order a very small part of a fat cow to be drawn, and that through the same magnifying glass through which the previous [fibres] were drawn, in order to show the thickness of dried fibres of flesh and their vessels, of which the former for the greater part consist, as is shown here in Fig. 7 with XYZ.



I also asked the draughtsman how many vessels he saw in such a little flesh fibre, which had been cut across. After a close scrutiny he said to me, I see some [flesh fibres] in which I count twenty-five little vessels.

Afterwards a little smelt was brought to me, which had a length of approximately two phalanges. I put the little fish fibres, which had been cut through crosswise, in front of the magnifying glass before my eyes. I saw not only that the fish fibres were as much as twice as thick as the flesh fibres of a cow, but I also saw that these little fish fibres were equipped with as many vessels as I had discovered in other fish fibres.

Now when we see that the fish fibres of fishes are many times thicker than the flesh fibres of animals, we have turned our thoughts to the question what reasons there might exist why the LORD CREATOR OF THE UNIVERSE has created such things. But as for me, I could not think of any other reasons than that, since fishes are swimming in the water, their fish fibres are not subjected to any force to keep their bodies in the water, because their bodies approximately correspond with the water as to weight. No force is exerted on the fish fibres when they swim along in order to pursue their nourishment, whereas, on the contrary, the flesh fibres of many animals do not only have to sustain the weight of their bodies, but some of those animals are, as it were, created to carry burdens and to labour. On that account, the flesh muscles had also to be stronger than the fish muscles. For we must take for granted that when thin long parts are bundled together to a certain thickness and, moreover, these parts are united to one another, they will be stronger than when thicker parts are united into the same thickness as the united thinner parts. So, the flesh muscles will be stronger than the fish muscles, but I leave this to others.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> An "duijm" or inch is 2.61 cm. "Five duijm" is therefore 13 cm.

Must we not stand amazed, when we see what wondrously small things lie enclosed in the flesh and the fish, which have never entered our thoughts. We take the view that still many more marvels lie hidden in them, which mankind will not discover. I shall finish and remain, with very high respect

Very noble sirs, of you, very noble sirs, the most humble servant

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

P.S.

Yesterday I chanced to lay hands on a grey pea that had been cooked. I put a small quantity of the substance that we call meal in front of the magnifying glass, and I saw that the mealy substance consisted of such parts as resembled the excrement of rats. These parts in their turn consisted of very many tiny parts, without my being able to discern the membranes in which each of the said parts lie enclosed. From this, I concluded that the membranes had for the greater part dissolved and had merged with the water.

Hereupon I took a grey pea that was not cooked, and I cut this into slices. Not only did I see the membranes in which the said parts lie enclosed, but now I also saw that these membranes consisted of nothing but little vessels, approximately resembling the so-called membranes or, in other words, the little vessels that encompass flesh and fish muscles and the little fibres of flesh and fish.

It is my intention to observe this admirable structure more closely, merely for my own pleasure 14.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> L.'s next letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-569 of 27 June 1721, in this volume.

BRIEF Nr. L-570 27 JUNI 1721

Gericht aan: de Royal Society.

Manuscript: Eigenhandige, ondertekende brief. Het manuscript bevindt zich te

Londen, Royal Society, Early Letters L4.67; 2 kwartobladzijden.

# GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1721: 'Observations upon the Seeds of Plants. By the Same. Translated by John Chamberlayne, Esq;' *Philosophical Transactions* 31 (31 augustus 1721), nr. 368, blz. 200-203. - Vrijwel volledige Engelse vertaling van de brief.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 2e en 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, blz. 144. - Nederlandse samenvatting.

# SAMENVATTING:

L. schrijft over het eindelijk ontdekken van kleine gaatjes in de vliezen van bonen en erwten en over de kleine vaten in de vliezen van zaaden. Water dringt door de gaten in de zaden als gevolg van de druk van de lucht.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

De brief was gedateerd 27 juni 1721 N.S. in Delft, dat was 16 juni 1721 O.S. in Londen. In de vergadering van de Royal Society van 22 juni 1721 O.S. werd de opdracht gegeven om de brief te vertalen. Zie Journal Book, Dl. 13, blz. 113: 'A Letter of Mr. LEEWENHOECKS of the 27 of June N.S. was produced and ordered to be gott translated'. JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE maakte de vertaling, die pas bijna twee jaar later werd voorgelezen op de vergadering van 21 maart 1723 O.S., Royal Society, Journal Book, Dl. 13, blz. 272-73. Het Journal Book geeft een lange gedetailleerde samenvatting van de brief die eindigt met 'Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was ordered thanks for his Letter and Mr. CHAMBERLAIN the same for his Trouble in translating it'.

BRIEF Nr. L-570 27 JUNI 1721

Delft in Holland den 27e juni ao 1721

Aande Hoog Edele Heeren Mijn Heeren die vande Coninlijk Societeit in London.

Hoog Edele Heeren.

Na mijne laaste onderdanigste¹ aan UE. Hoog Edele Heeren, en hebbe ik niet stil gestaan maar veel maal mijne waarneminge, ontrent de soo genoemde vliesen waar in de meel stoffe² die als bondelkens als in Celletjens op gesloote leggen, en soo is het ook gelegen, met alle boonen, Erten, Taruw³, garst etc. en hebbe eijntelijk, met verwondering seer naakt ontdekt, dat de soo genaamde vliesen, met onbedenkelijke, veel gaatjens sijn versien, waar door men op veele plaatsen het dag-ligt kan sien, en welke gaatiens wij vast moeten stellen, dat niet anders sijn, dan af gebrooke, ofte af gesnedene vaatiens, die eens deels als vliesen die ik Celletjens noem, uijt maken, ende ten anderen geschapen sijn, om de meel stoffe voort te brengen, die in een Ert, of Boon, onbedenkelijk veel sijn, en hoe kleijn die ook sijn, beelt ik mij in, dat ijder meel deeltje uijt een vaatje, dat uijt het selletje voortkomt sal groot gemaakt sijn, en welke vaatiens om haar kleijnheijt sullen blijven onnaspeurlijk.

Dese vaatiens waar uijt voor het meerendeel de Celletiens bestaan, sijn in een boon of Ert, naakter te bekennen als in een andere soort, maar inde taruw, sijn de vaatiens in de Celletiens seer beswaarlijk te bekennen, en ik hebbe al seer veel waarneminge gedaan, eer dat ik mij ten genoegen konde versekeren, de af gebrookene vaatiens te sien, om dat de vaatjens, die de Celletiens inde taruw uijt maaken seer dun ende ontstark sijn.

Vorders hebbe ik inde waarneminge vande geseijde vaatiens die de Celletiens uijt maaken, wel gesien, dat ik eenige meel bolletjens uijt de taruw hadde ontstukken gebrooken, ende ontdekt, dat in soo een enkel meel bolletje weder bolletjens leggen op geslooten.

Ik hebbe ook waar genomen, dat de Vliesen, Celletiens, die inde garst sijn, ende waar in de bondeltiens meel leggen op geslooten, en groot gemaakt, dikker en starker sijn, dan inde taruw.

Al hoe wel het bij mij vast stond, dat meest alle de zaaden, derselver vliesen of selletiens van een ende der selver te samen gestel, van een ende der selver maaksels sijn, soo hebbe ik egter<sup>4</sup> vande grootste Amandelen genomen ende vande selvige eenige dunne schijfjens gesneden, ende uijt die schijfjens gearbeijt, de stoffe die inde Celletjens leggen als op geslooten voor soo veel mij doenlijk was, ende de selve mede na mijn vermogen door het Vergroot-glas beschouwende, konde ik mede sien, dat de Celletjens waar in voor het meerendeel de olij op geslooten leijt, mede niet en bestond als uijt vaatiens.

Mijn voor nemen was wel geweest, om was het doenlijk, de kleijne zaaden te beschouwen, om te sien, of de Celletiens waar in eenige stofte sal ingeslooten leggen, mede was bestaan[de]<sup>5</sup> uijt vaatiens, dog ik hebbe mijn voor nemen gestaakt, als mij in beeldende dat mijn doen daar ontrent vrugteloos soude sijn, om de kleijnheijt van de Celletiens, en bij gevolg ook de vaatiens waar uijt de Celletjens sijn te samen gestelt, al hoewel het bij mij vast staat, dat het geene wij inde groote zaaden komen te sien, de kleijne zaaden daar mede begaaft sijn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De vorige brief van L. aan de Royal Society is Brief L-569 van 11 april 1721, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In het hs. vóór *meel stoffe* twee maal *de*.

<sup>3</sup> taruw, tarwe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Egter, toch.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In het hs. bestaan.

BRIEF Nr. L-570 27 JUNI 1721

Als<sup>6</sup> ik nu sag dat de verhaalde Celletiens, voort quamen uijt het schorsje, dat de pit ofte kern van het zaad om vangt, soo hebbe ik in gedagten genomen, dat, gelijk de meel stoffe inde zaaden door de vaatiens die inde Celletiens sijn werden groot gemaakt, ende de plant, die tussen de Celletiens gefourmeert werden, ten tijde als het zaad inde aarde leijt, ende dat gelijk de mondekens die inde huijt der dieren ende vrugten geschapen sijn, om de overvloet van vogt uijt te stooten ende soodanig sluijt, datter geen vogt, of gemene lugt kan ingestoote werden, als voor desen bij mij is geseijt, dat in tegendeel, de mondekens inde zaaden, soo danig geschapen sijn, dat veel vaatiens de vogt in laten, om alsoo het water door de parsinge vande lugt, in het zaad in gedrongen sijnde, het zaad doet op swellen, ende daar bij komende de warmte een beweginge in het zaad een grooter plaats moetende hebben, dat dan de in geschapenheijt van de deeltjens die inde Celletiens leggen, ende hare groot makinge uijt de Celletiens genooten hebben, haar stoffe waar uijt deselve bestaan voor een gedeelte weder terugge stootten, ende dat na de plant, die door sulk doen, in soo danige groote toe neemt, dat de wortel uijt de aarde sijn verdere groote bekomt, ende dat over sulks het zaad wanneer de plant sijn wasdom uijt de aarde heeft, men bevind dat het zaad kleijnder is.

Hoe menigmaal ik sedert veel jaren de zaaden, door het Vergroot-glas hebbe beschout<sup>7</sup>, soo is mij noijt in gedagten gekomen dat de Celletjens met soo veel vaatiens soude sijn versien, hoe wel ik te meer malen in gedagten genome hebbe hoe het in storten vande meel deeltiens inde vliesen mogte toe gaan, en daar toe ik niet en soude gekomen hebben, ten ware door geduijrige arbeijt, om na speuringe te doen, na saaken die voor ons bloote oog verborgen sijn en waar toe ik grooter neijginge hebbe als ik in veele menschen bemerk.

Dus verre sijn mijne aanteekeninge ontrent eenige zaaden en alsoo ik sedert een jaar en meer, niet en weet of UE: Hoog Edele Heeren, met het drukken vande zaaken die UE: Hoog Edele Heeren werden toegesonden<sup>8</sup>, daar in volhard ben ik begeerig, om sulks te weeten, en ik sal met seer veel agtinge blijven<sup>9</sup>.

Hoog Edele Heeren UE: Hoog Edele Heeren, Onderdanigste dienaar

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> De hier beginnende zin is extreem lang – 240 woorden – en bovendien geconstrueerd met een overmaat aan bijzinnen. De kern is: 'soo hebbe ik in gedagten genomen'; het overige geeft de inhoud van die gedachten weer. L. is getroffen door het verschil tussen de groei van niet ontkiemd zaad en dat wat er in ontkiemend zaad gebeurt, in het bijzonder met betrekking tot het opnemen van vocht.

De eerste uitgebreide waarnemingen van L. aan zaden van planten werden gerapporteerd aan de Royal Society in Brief 85 [46] L-159 van 13 juli 1685 en Brief 88 [47] L-166 van 12 oktober 1685, Alle de Brieven, Dl. 5. L. gaf deze twee brieven zelf uit in Zaden van Boomen, gedrukt in Leiden door CORNELIS BOUTESTEYN in 1685.

Noor zover we weten is de vorige brief van de Royal Society aan L. (geschreven door RICHARD WALLER) Brief L-508 van 30 augustus 1714 (gedateerd 19 augustus 1714, O.S.), idem, Dl. 20. Gezien L's opmerking 'sedert een jaar en meer' is hij kennelijk via een andere weg geïnformeerd. De eerstvolgende brief van de Royal Society aan L. (gescheven door JAMES JURIN) is Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 (gedateerd 22 februari 1722 O.S.), in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> De volgende brief van L. aan de Royal Society, geschreven tien maanden later, is Brief L-572 van21 april 1722, in dit deel, geschreven als antwoord op de in de voorgaande voetnoot genoemde Brief L-571.

LETTER NO. L-570 27 JUNE 1721

Addressed to: The Royal Society.

Manuscript: Signed autograph letter. The manuscript is to be found in London, Royal

Society, Early Letters L4.67; 2 quarto pages.

#### PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1721: "Observations upon the Seeds of Plants. By the Same. Translated by John Chamberlayne, Esq;" *Philosophical Transactions* 31 (31 August 1721), no. 368, pp. 200-203 - Practically complete English translation of the letter.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 2e en 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 144. - Dutch summary.

# SUMMARY:

L. writes about finally discovering little holes in the membranes of beans and peas and about the little vessels in seed membranes. Water penetrates the seeds through the holes as a result of the pressure of the air.

#### **REMARKS:**

The letter was dated 27 June 1721 N.S. in Delft, which was 16 June 1721 O.S. in London. It was ordered to be translated at the 22 June 1721 O.S. meeting of the Royal Society, Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 113: "A Letter of Mr. Leewenhoecks of the 27 of June NS. was produced and ordered to be gott translated." JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE made the translation, which was not read until almost two years later at the 21 March 1723 meeting, Royal Society, Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 272-73. The Journal Book has a long, detailed summary of the letter that ends, "Mr. Leeuwenhoeck was ordered thanks for his Letter and Mr. Chamberlain the same for his Trouble in translating it".

LETTER NO. L-570 27 JUNE 1721

Delft in Holland the 27th of June Ao 1721

To the very noble gentlemen The gentlemen of the Royal Society in London.

Very noble sirs.

After my last most humble letter¹ to you, very noble sirs, I did not remain idle, but many times repeated my observations with regard to the so-called membranes in which the mealy substance lies enclosed in the form of little bundles in, as it were, little cells. This is also the case in all beans, peas, wheat, barley, etc. At last, I have with wonder very clearly discovered that the so-called membranes are provided with inconceivably numerous little holes, through which one can see the daylight in many places. With regard to these holes, we must take for granted that they are nothing but vessels that have snapped off or are cut off. They partly constitute, as it were, the membranes, which I call little cells, and partly have been created to produce the mealy substance, which is inconceivably abundant in a pea or a bean. However tiny its particles are, yet I imagine that each particle will have received its growth through a little vessel that springs from the little cell. These little vessels will remain untraceable because of their minuteness.

These little vessels, of which the cells consist for the greater part, are to be discerned more clearly in a bean or a pea than in another species, but in wheat the vessels in the little cells are very difficult to discern. I had already carried out many observations before I could assure myself to my satisfaction that I was seeing the broken-off little vessels, because the vessels that make up the little cells in wheat are very thin and fragile.

Furthermore, I at times saw in the course of the observations of the said vessels that make up the little cells that I had broken into pieces some globules of meal from the wheat and discovered that within such a single globule of meal other little globules in their turn lie enclosed.

I have also observed that the membranes, cells, that are in barley and within which the little bundles of meal lie enclosed and have grown, are thicker and tougher than in wheat.

Although I was convinced that in most seeds their membranes, or little cells, have one and the same composition, one and the same structure, yet I took one of the largest almonds, cut some thin slices from this, and laboriously extracted from those little slices the substances that lie enclosed in the little cells, as far as it was feasible for me. Also observing them as well as I could through the magnifying glass, I could see that the cells, in which the oil lies enclosed for the greater part, consisted of nothing but little vessels.

I did have the intention, if it were feasible, to view the small seeds to see whether the little cells, in which some substance lies enclosed, also consisted of vessels, but I abandoned my plan. I thought that my efforts in this respect would be in vain because of the minuteness of the little cells and hence also of the little vessels of which the cells are composed, although I am convinced that the small seeds are provided as well with that which we see in the large seeds.

Now I saw that the cells, described just now, sprang forth from the little rind that encompasses the core, or kernel, of the seed. The thought occurred to me that whereas the mealy substances in the seeds are made to grow through the vessels that are in the little cells, the embryo is formed between the cells at the time when the seed lies in the earth. The little mouths in the skin of animals and fruits have been created to thrust the surplus of moisture outwards and close themselves in such a way that no moisture or common air can be thrust

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> L.'s previous letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-569 of 11 April 1721, in this volume.

LETTER NO. L-570 27 JUNE 1721

into them (as I have said earlier). On the contrary, the little mouths in the seeds have been created in such a way that many little vessels admit moisture. Thus, the water, having penetrated into the seed through the atmospheric pressure, makes the seed swell. When warmth is added to this, a greater motion has to come about in the seed. Then the innate nature of the particles that lie within the little cells and have obtained their growth from these cells partly thrust the substances, of which they consist, back again, and that towards the embryo, which through this process grows to such a size that the root gets its further growth from the earth. One finds that through this, the seed is smaller when the embryo gets its growth from the earth.

However often during the many years that I have observed seeds through the magnifying glass², the idea never occurred to me that the little cells would be provided with so many vessels, although I several times pondered the question how the pouring of the meal particles into the membrane would come about. I would not have had this idea except through continual labor in tracing things that are hidden to our naked eye and for which I have a greater inclination than I notice in many people.

Thus far run my notes on some seeds. Because for a year and more I have not been informed<sup>3</sup> whether you, very noble sirs, continue to print the things that have been sent to you, very noble sirs, I would like to know this, and I shall remain with very much respect<sup>4</sup>,

Very noble sirs,

Your most humble servant, Very noble sirs

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> L.'s first extensive observations of seeds of plants were reported to the Royal Society in Letter 85 [46] L-159 of 13 July 1685 and Letter 88 [47] L-166 of 12 October 1685, *Collected Letters*, vol. 5. L. published these two letters himself in *Zaden van Boomen* (Seeds of trees), printed in Leiden by CORNELIS BOUTESTEYN in 1685.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> As far as we know, the previous letter from the Royal Society to L. (written by RICHARD WALLER) is Letter L-508 of 30 August 1714 (dated 19 August 1714, O.S.), *idem*, Vol. 20. Given L's remark "for a year and more", he was apparently informed in a different way. The next letter from the Royal Society to L. (written by JAMES JURIN) is Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 (dated 22 February 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> L.'s next letter to the Royal Society, ten months later, is Letter L-572 of 21 April 1722, in this volume, written in response to JURIN's Letter L-571, mentioned above.

BRIEF Nr. L-571 5 MAART 1722

Gericht aan: ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

Geschreven door: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Een contemporain afschrift van JURINS Engelstalige brief bevindt zich bij

de Wellcome Collection, Londen, MS. 6143, 3 blz.

#### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: *The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750)*, (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), brief 17.

# SAMENVATTING:

JAMES JURIN stelt zich aan L. voor als de nieuwe secretaris van de Royal Society en spreekt zijn bewondering uit voor het werk van L.

### OPMERKINGEN:

De datum van de Engelstalige brief is in de Nieuwe Stijl, elf dagen later dan de Oude Stijl-datum van 22 februari die JURIN in Londen gebruikte. JURIN las deze brief voor aan de Royal Society op 22 februari 1722 (O.S.), Royal Society, Journal Book Original, Dl. 13. De spelling en interpunctie zijn gemoderniseerd.

JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), was een Engelse arts en voorstander van pokkenvaccinatie. Als aanhanger van de Royal Society-president ISAAC NEWTON werd JURIN in 1717 lid van de Royal Society. Als secretaris van de Royal Society van 1721 tot 1727 was hij redacteur van de delen 31-34 van de *Philosophical Transactions*, waarin hij L.'s laatste brieven, gericht aan hem en aan de Royal Society, uitgaf.

Met de huidige brief begint de briefwisseling tussen L. en JURIN die zou voortduren tot het einde van het leven van L. Alle data zijn volgens de Nieuwe Stijl en alle brieven staan in dit deel. Zie voor een volledige lijst van de briefwisseling tussen L. en JURIN, Bijlage 13, *Alle de Brieven*, Dl. 20.

LETTER No. L-571 5 MARCH 1722

Addressed to: Antoni van Leeuwenhoek.

Written by: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: A contemporary copy of JURIN's original English letter is to be found in

London, Wellcome Collection, MS. 6143, London, 3 pp.

# PUBLISHED IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: *The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750)*, (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), letter 17.

# SUMMARY:

JAMES JURIN introduces himself to L. as the new secretary of the Royal Society and expresses his admiration for L.'s work.

#### **REMARKS:**

The date is New Style, which was eleven days ahead of the Old Style date of 22 February used by JURIN in London. JURIN read this letter to the Royal Society on 22 February 1722 O.S., Royal Society, Journal Book Original, vol. 13. The spelling and punctuation have been modernized.

JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), was an English physician and proponent of smallpox vaccination. As a supporter of Royal Society president ISAAC NEWTON, JURIN became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1717. As its secretary from 1721 to 1727, he edited volumes 31-34 of the *Philosophical Transactions*, in which he published L.'s final letters, addressed to him and to the Royal Society.

The present letter begins the exchange of letters between L. and JURIN that would continue to the end of L.'s life. See Appendix 13, *Collected Letters*, vol. 20, for a complete list of the correspondence between JURIN and L.

LETTER No. L-571 5 MARCH 1722

Crane Court Febr. 22d, 1721/2

Sir,

The Royal Society having been pleased to entrust me with the care of their correspondence, I have in a particular manner received their commands to continue and cultivate that communication<sup>1</sup>, which has so long and so usefully subsisted between yourself and the secretaries of the Society. It is with the greatest pleasure that I embrace this opportunity of conversing with a person from whose writings I have reaped so much information and of the truth of many of whose discoveries I have upon a careful examination been an eyewitness. But it is needless, sir, to inform you of my own personal sentiments of esteem and respect for you, when I have the honour to assure you in the name of the Royal Society that they set the highest value upon your labour, and that they look upon not themselves only, but the whole philosophic world, and mankind in general, to be greatly obliged to you on account of those many valuable discoveries, which you have been pleased from time to time to communicate to them. They see and observe with pleasure that neither the fatigue of your continued labours during more than half a century, nor the autumn, as your friend expresses it<sup>2</sup>, nor even the winter of life, have been able to retard you in the pursuit of nature, or to damp that generous and noble ardour, that first engaged you in the service of philosophy. They concur in judgement with that gentleman and promise themselves that these autumnal fruits of a long experience, of a settled judgement, and an habitual dexterity will be durable and lasting in proportion to their maturity. Your late observations have been principally turned to the noblest and most difficult of natural subjects, the constitution of an animal body and the fabric of the most intricate, the most minute, and the most delicate parts of it has not been subtle enough to escape your penetration, which has been able to disclose to us the almost invisible cavities of the fibrilla of the bones, of the muscles, the membranes, and even of the nerves themselves<sup>3</sup>. The Royal Society has a just sense of the importance of these discoveries, and it is their earnest desire, that, as there is little reason to hope, that human industry can go much farther in these particulars, they may however by repeated observations be so confirmed and set in such a light that the most incredulous may have no room to dispute the truth of them.

The previous letter from the Royal Society to L., as far as is known, is Letter L-508 of 30 August 1714 (dated 19 August 1714 O.S.) from RICHARD WALLER, Collected Letters, vol. 20. EDMOND HALLEY, who in November 1713 was elected Royal Society second secretary, and thus editor of Philosophical Transactions, did not communicate with L., or even had several of his letters translated and read. See the second paragraph of JURIN's Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

In the postscript to Letter L-568 of 24 January 1721, in this volume, L. writes, "A certain gentleman, who visited me some months ago, asked me to make some more discoveries, adding that the fruits which mature in autumn will keep the longest. It is now the autumn of my days, for now on this day they have amounted to 88½ years." See Appendix 16, Collected Letters, vol. 20, for a complete list of visitors to L.'s house.

<sup>3</sup> L.'s Letter L-568 of 24 January 1721 deals with the vessels in wood and the muscle fibres of a cow, a whale, and a mouse.

LETTER No. L-571 5 MARCH 1722

This, sir, is what can be expected only from yourself, for though you may leave behind you those incomparable glasses, through which nature has so often discovered herself unveiled and naked yet where shall we find another Leeuwenhoek to employ them with the same success? For this reason, the R.S. hope and promise themselves, though with a due and tender regard to your great age, that you will continue to let them receive the fruits of that attention, with which you have always honoured them, during the space of almost forty years that you have been a member of their body<sup>4</sup>. They desire you will be pleased to accept the volume of Philosophical Transactions<sup>5</sup>, which accompanies this letter, as a slender pledge of the sincere affection and esteem they bear you, together with their hearty wishes of health and happiness, to which give me leave to add the same,

from, sir6,

Your most obedient and most humble servant

JAMES JURIN R.S. Secret.

L.'s election to the Royal Society occurred in early 1680, 42 years earlier. See Letter L-101 of 7 March 1680 (26 February 1680 O.S.), idem, vol. 20, for the diploma that Royal Society secretary THOMAS GALE sent to L. See also BIRCH, The History of the Royal Society of London, vol. IV, pp. 11, 13, 16, 21 and Heniger, "Antoni van Leeuwenhoek en zijn diploma van de Royal Society".

With his election as secretary in November 1721, JURIN took over the editorship of *Philosophical Transactions* from EDMOND HALLEY, who did not publish letters by L. in volumes 29 and 30. JURIN's first volume of the *Philosophical Transactions* (vol. 31) has six parts, the last dated 31 December 1721. The final four parts contain all six of the letters that L. addressed to the Royal Society in 1720 and 1721. See Palm, L.C., "Leeuwenhoek and other Dutch correspondents of the Royal Society".

<sup>6</sup> L. replied to the present letter with Letter L-574 of 1 May 1722, a cover letter in which L. asks for support for his claims about hermaphroditic animals, which people found hard to believe. JURIN's next letter to L. is Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722. Both letters are in this volume.

Gericht aan: de Royal Society.

Manuscript: Eigenhandige ondertekende brief. Het manuscript bevindt zich te Londen,

Royal Society, MS 2111, Early Letters L4.75; 4 kwartobladzijden. Aldaar ook een contemporaine kopie van de brief in Letter Book Original, 15.74, blz. 246, 4 blz. Voor een eigentijdse Engelse vertaling van de brief door

JAMES JURIN, zie: Early Letters L.4.76; 3 pagina's.

# GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1722: 'A Letter from Mr. Leeuwenhoeck, F. R. S. concerning the Muscular Fibres in Several Animals, and the Magnetick Quality Acquired by Iron, upon Standing for a Long Time in the Same Posture.' *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 mei 1722), nr. 371, blz. 72-75. – Vrijwel volledige Engelse vertaling van de brief.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 144-45. – Nederlandse samenvatting.

#### SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief observeert L. de spiervezels van verschillende dieren. Ook onderzoekt L. of ijzer na verloop van tijd magnetisch wordt.

# OPMERKINGEN:

De brief werd voorgelezen tijdens de vergaderingen van de Royal Society op 3 mei en 10 mei 1722 O.S.; Royal Society, Journal Book Original, Dl. 13, blz. 193-95. Het bevat een lange gedetailleerde samenvatting van de brief en eindigt, 'Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was ordered thanks', hetgeen JURIN deed in Brief L-575 van 26 mei 1722 (gedateerd 15 mei 1722 O.S.), in dit deel.

Delft in Holland den 21e April 1722

Aan de Hoog Edele Heeren Mijn Heeren die vande Coninklijke Societeit in London<sup>1</sup>

Hoog Edele Heeren.

De seer geleerde Heer JACOB<sup>2</sup> JURIN, Secretaris van Hare Hoog Edele Heeren Vergadering<sup>3</sup> schrijft mij uijt Londen, uijt den naam van Hare Hoog Edele Heeren, van den 22 feb. 1721/2<sup>4</sup>, met soo veele expressien van genoeginge over mijne ontdekkinge, die ik haar Hoog Edele Heeren hebbe toe gesonden, dat ik als verstelt stond, wanneer men den brief las<sup>5</sup>, ja soo danig, dat mijn oogen waterde, over alle de groote uijtdrukkinge, en agtinge, die men in mijn arbeijt heeft, die ik alleen uijt eijge beweginge en drift, te wege brenge want ik en was met geen gelt te bewegen, de ontdekkinge te doen, ende nu als een in geschapene drift, die ben uijt werkende, en ik beelt mij in dat ik geen Menschen en ontmoet, die soo veel tijd en arbeijt souden besteden int<sup>6</sup> door soeken der natuurlijke saaken, ende daar bij hadde ik ook plaijsier te verstaan, dat de geleerde en nauw keurige ondersoekinge vande Heer JACOB JURIN die ook oog getuijge is geweest van mijne ontdekkinge.

De geseijde Heer seijt ook, dat UE. Hoog Edele Heren seer ernstig verlangt, als was het maar door herhalinge, deselve aan merkingen soo danig te mogen werden bevestigt, en op geheldert, dat de ongeloovigheijt mag werden de mont gestopt.

Hier op moet ik tot uwe Hoog Edele Heeren seggen dat ik veel saaken van een ende deselve wesen wel hebbe door sogt, niet noodig geagt hebbe de selve te beschrijven, om dat de eene uijt het andere moet volgen, en die saaken die niet wel en sijn te gelooven, die hebbe ik jaar, en dag, voor het Vergroot-glas is, laten staan, op dat ik die verwonderens waardige saaken, als veele soude laten sien, als daar sijn de vaaten inde senuwen, die soo lang voor het Vergroot-glas hebben gelegen, dat ze van het diertie de Mijt sijn op gegeten, en tis ontrent maar agt dagen geleden, dat ik het vlees van een vetten Os, als ook de visfibertiens van Cabbeljaeuw, en baars is, die ijder voor een Vergroot-glas staan, en welke fibertiens, over dwars sijn doorsneden waar in men seer distinct, de seer menigvuldige vaatiens, die inde lengte van[de] vlees fibertiens loopen komt te sien<sup>7</sup>. Ook hebbe ik inde maant van April het vlees van het agter been van een

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De vorige brief van L. aan de Royal Society is Brief L-570 van 27 juni 1721, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Het Nederlandse equivalent van James is Jacob.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> JAMES JURIN werd 30 november 1721 O.S. tot secretaris gekozen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Brief L-571 of 5 maart 1722 (gedateerd 22 februari 1722 O.S.), in dit deel.

Hier komt de vraag op of L. 'voorlezen' bedoelde. Aan het begin van zijn carrière beweerde hij immers zelf geen, of hoogstens zeer weinig, Engels te kunnen lezen. Bijvoorbeeld schrijft hij in Brief 19 [13] L-028 van 20 december 1675 aan HENRY OLDENBURG, Alle de Brieven, Dl. 1, 'tot mijn leetwesen het Engelsch niet en versta.' Halverwege zijn carrière was hij echter in staat een passage te vertalen uit Brief L-123 van 26 februari 1683 van FRANCIS ASTON, idem, Dl. 20, in zijn antwoord, Brief 76 [39] L-135 van 17 september 1683, idem, Dl. 4. In Brief 138 L-244 van 26 mei 1694 aan RICHARD WALLER, idem, Dl. 10, verklaart hij dat hij Brief L-243 van 2 mei 1694 van WALLER, ibidem (daar ongenummerd) van de heer WALFORT heeft kunnen lezen. Tien jaar later kon hij schrijven in Brief 249 L-421 van 21 maart 1704 aan de Royal Society, idem, Dl. 14, 'Ik hebbe dan een extract getrokken, soo veel in mijn vermogen was, uijt de Philosophical Transactions bij de Co: Soct in Londen uijt gegeven, als no 193. pag: 502. vande Maanden Maart, April, Meij, ende junij, 1691. al waar al dus geseijt werd.' Zie ook DAMSTEEGT, 'Language and Leeuwenhoek' in: PALM en SNELDERS, Antoni van Leeuwenhoek 1632-1723, blz. 16 vlg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In het hs. twee maal *int*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Zie voor deze preparaten Brief L-569 van 11 april 1721, in dit deel. In het hs. staat een komma na sien; de beginletter van Ook is echter waarschijnlijk als een hoofdletter bedoeld.

muijs over dwars doorsneden, en het selve mede voor een Vergroot glas gestelt, ende in die vlees fibertiens weder op nieuw, de vaatiens die inde lengte van soo een vlees fibertie loopen, seer distinct gesien.

Als ook mede hebbe ik voor een Vergroot glas staan de vlees fibertiens van een vetten Os, ende daar nevens aan de vlees fibertiens van een muijs, op dat men oog getuijge soude sijn, dat het vlees van een Os, en van een Muijs, van een ende deselve dikte sijn, dat veele Menschen ongelooflijk schijnt, en soo handele ik met veele van mijne op nieuw ondekte saaken die ik niet alleen voor mijn selven houde.

Wanneer ik voor desen vande strengen die aan de zaad-bal vande Ram geschapen sijn, om die groot zaad bal te konnen dragen, soo hebbe ik vergeeten te seggen, dat ijder van die strengen versien sijn met uijt nemende kleijne vaatiens, die ik inde lengte vande strengen hadde ontdekt.

Ik hebbe ook voor een Vergroot-glas staan een kleijn gedeelte van Rund, waar aan men komt te sien de vaatiens uijt het been komende, het soo genaamde been-vlies<sup>8</sup> uijtmakende, waar aan men komt te sien, de uijtnemende kleijne openinge van die vaatiens, die haar soo open vertoonen beelt ik mij in, om dat deselve gevolt sijn met vet.

Ik kan niet na laten tot uwe Hoog Edele Heeren te seggen dat men het ijsere sware kruijs dat op onse nieuwe kerketoorn nu na men oordeelt seer na twee hondert jaren<sup>9</sup> gestaan heeft, moeten vernieuwen, (het geene dat een kruijs uijtmaakt, is een lang swaar ijser, daar over dwars een ijser is verbeeldende een Compas naalde, die het noorden en het zuijden aanwijst).

Seeker Heer uijt een andere provintie<sup>10</sup>, bij mij sijnde, seijt tot mij, dat het ijser lang, en hoog, in de lugt gestaan hebbende soo een kragt heeft, dat een naalde kan op halen.

Hier op send ik een timmerman, om een stuk van het geseijde ijser te halen, en soo danig ijser, dat ontrent een span lang, en een quart van een duijm<sup>11</sup> dik was, bij een naalde en daarop bij het Compas brengende bragt geen beweginge aan de naalde, nog aan het Compas.

Kort daar aan brengt de geseijde timmerman, bij mij eenige stukjens, gelijkende naar verroest ijser, dat hij van het kruijs hadde af geslagen, daar het kruijs vier lange ijsere veeren hadde, ende daar het kruijs was rustende op een staande lange balk, die aldaar ijder sijde negen duijmen was 12, ende door de vier veeren met ijsere banden, was het kruis vast gemaakt, en was soo met loot bekleet, datter geen water hadde bij konnen komen.

Dit int oog verroest ijser, bragt ik bij een naijnaaldens en ik sag, dat deselve niet alleen een naalde, maar vier distincte naaldens, de een aan de anderen op hefte, en aan dit wonderbaare ijser bleven hangen, en beter magneetische uijt werkinge deede, als twee seijl steenen<sup>13</sup>, die ik als doen in mijn huijs hadde, en ik vond dit veranderde ijser, dat na geen ijser was gelijkende soo hard, dat het na geen vijl luijsterde, en ik liet een van mijn grootste stukjens door een messe slijper, slijpen, die lang daar mede doende was, seggende doorgaans tis harder als staal.

Dit verwekte soo een geroep, en men heeft het mij soo af gehaalt, dat ik maar een stukje voor mij hebbe behoude.

Hier over hebbe veel geschrift gemaakt en ook van ijser als roest, en van het ijser en ijser mineraal.

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Noor de vorige brief van L. over het beenvlies of periosteum, zie Brief L-566 van 20 november 1720, in dit deel.

<sup>9</sup> De toren van de Nieuwe Kerk van Delft werd herbouwd na verwoest te zijn in de stadsbrand van 1536.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Niet geïdentificeerd.

<sup>11</sup> span, lengtemaat van ong. 20 cm.; eigenlijk de afstand tussen duim en pink van de uitgespreide hand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Een duijm is 2,61 cm. 'negen duijmen' is daarmee 23,5 cm.

<sup>13</sup> seijl steenen, magneten.

Hare Hoog Edele Heeren hebben die goetheijt, met mij toe te senden een stuk van de Philosophical Transactions<sup>14</sup> nevens den brief was gaande. Maar alsoo den brief door de post is bestelt, soo hebbe ik kort daar aan geschreven, aan mijnen vrient ZEEGER HOBIKS<sup>15</sup> Coopman in koorn tot Rotterdam, om te vernemen na het geseijde pakket die hem ook aan stonts begaf, bij de Capitein vande aankomende sloep<sup>16</sup>, die hem versekerde dat het pak nog niet en was gearriveert, maar dat het wel met de volgende Capitain mogte arriveeren, dat ik met verlangen sal te gemoet sien. Ondertussen ben ik ten hoogsten dankbaar over de goetheijt die uwe Hoog Edele Heeren hebt mij soo een present dog onverdient, toe te senden, en ik sal met seer hooge agtinge blijven.

Hare Hoog Edele Heeren Alder onderdanigste Dienaar

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

bij gesontheijt sal ik int kort mijne ontdekkinge ontrent het vet laten toe komen<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Zie Brief L-571 van 22 februari 1722 van JURIN aan L., in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> ZEGER HOBUS was op 16 november 1719 getrouwd met weduwe CATHARINA VAN LEEUWEN, de kleindochter van L.'s zus CATHARINA (Oud Archief van de Stad Rotterdam, archief 1-01, inv. 1062, 03-12-1719, Stadstrouw). Hun enige overlevende kind, MARGARIETA CORNELIA HOBUS (1723-1748), erfde in 1745 de helft van de nalatenschap van L.'s dochter MARIA (Oud Notarieel Archief Delft, archief 161, inv. 2753, fol. 19).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> sloep, klein zeewaardig vaartuig voor de kortevaart of de kustvaart.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> In de volgende brief van L. aan de Royal Society, Brief L-573 van 1 mei 1722, in dit deel, onderzoekt hij vet.

LETTER No. L-572 21 APRIL 1722

Addressed to: The Royal Society.

Manuscript: Signed autograph letter. The manuscript is to be found in London, Royal

Society, MS 2111, Early Letters L4.75; 4 quarto pages. A contemporary copy of the letter is also present in Letter Book Original, 15.74, p. 246, 4 pp. For a contemporary English translation of the letter by JAMES JURIN,

see Early Letters L.4.76; 3 pages.

# PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1722: "A Letter from Mr. Leeuwenhoeck, F. R. S. concerning the Muscular Fibres in Several Animals, and the Magnetick Quality Acquired by Iron, upon Standing for a Long Time in the Same Posture." *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 May 1722), no. 371, pp. 72-75. - Practically complete English translation of the letter.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 144-45. - Dutch summary.

#### SUMMARY:

In this letter, L. observes the muscular fibres of different animals and investigates whether iron becomes magnetic over time.

# **REMARKS:**

The letter was read during the meetings of the Royal Society on 3 May and 10 May 1722 O.S.; Royal Society, Journal Book Original, vol. 13, p. 193-95. It includes a long, detailed summary of the letter and ends, "Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was ordered thanks", which JURIN did in Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

LETTER NO. L-572 21 APRIL 1722

Delft in Holland, the 21st of April 1722

To the very noble gentlemen the gentlemen of the Royal Society in London<sup>1</sup>

Very noble sirs.

The very learned gentleman JAMES JURIN, secretary of your society, very noble sirs, writes to me from London on behalf of you a letter dated on the 22nd of February 1721/2², with so many expressions of pleasure at my discoveries that I sent to you that I stood dumbfounded when the letter was read³; indeed, so much so that my eyes became moist because of all the eulogies and the esteem in which my work is held, which I perform solely of my own accord and impulse, for no amount of money would have induced me to make my discoveries. Now, through an innate impulse, as it were, I am working them out, and I imagine that I shall not meet with any people who would devote so much time and labour to the investigation of natural phenomena; and besides I also felt pleasure in hearing about the learned and painstaking investigations of Mr. JAMES JURIN, who has also been an eyewitness of my discoveries.

The gentleman, just mentioned, also says that you very earnestly desire that, albeit only through reiterations, these observations may be confirmed and elucidated, so that disbelief may be muzzled.

Hereupon I must say to you that, having investigated many matters of one and the same kind, I did not think it necessary to describe them, because the one needs must follow from the other. I have left those things that are not easy to believe standing a year and a day in front of the magnifying glass, in order that I would show these amazing things to many people, as there are the vessels in the nerves, which have so long been lying before the magnifying glass, that they have been consumed by the little animal, the mite. It is no more than about eight days ago that I had the flesh of a fat ox, as well as the little fish fibres of a cod and a perch standing each before its magnifying glass, and which little fibres had been cut through crosswise, in which one sees very distinctly the very numerous little vessels which run along the length of the little flesh fibres<sup>4</sup>. In the month of April, I also cut through the flesh of the hind leg of a mouse crosswise, and put that before a magnifying glass as well. In those

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> L.'s previous letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-570 of 27 June 1721, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> JAMES JURIN was elected secretary of the Royal Society on 30 November 1921. See Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 N.S. (dated 22 February 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Here the question arises whether L. meant "read out loud". At the beginning of his career, he claimed to be able to read no, or at most very little, English. For example, in Letter 19 [13] L-028 of 20 December 1675 to HENRY OLDENBURG, Collected Letters, vol. 1, he writes, "... to my regret I do not understand English." However, by the middle of his career, he was able to translate a passage from Francis Aston's Letter L-123 of 26 February 1683, idem, vol. 20, in his reply, Letter 76 [39] L-135 of 17 September 1683, idem, vol. 4. In Letter 138 L-244 of 26 May 1694 to Richard Waller, idem, vol. 10, he states that he was able to read Waller's Letter L-243 of 2 May 1694, ibidem (there unnumbered) delivered by Mr. Walfort. Ten years later, he could write in Letter 249 L-421 of 21 March 1704 to the Royal Society, idem, vol. 14, "I then made an extract, as well as I could, from the Philosophical Transactions published by the Royal Society in London, no. 193, p. 502, for the months of March, April, May, and June 1691, where it says. ..." See also Damsteegt, "Language and Leeuwenhoek" in: Palm en Snelders, Antoni van Leeuwenhoek 1632-1723, p. 16 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For these specimens, see Letter L-569 of 11 April 1721, in this volume.

LETTER No. L-572 21 APRIL 1722

fibres of flesh, I have once again very distinctly seen the little vessels that run lengthwise through such a fibre of flesh.

I have also standing before a magnifying glass the little flesh fibres of a fat ox, and next to that the little flesh fibres of a mouse, so that one would be an eyewitness to the fact that the flesh of an ox and of a mouse are of one and the same thickness, which seems incredible to many people. I deal in this way with many of my recently discovered phenomena, which I do not keep exclusively to myself.

When earlier I spoke about the strands that have been created at the seed ball of a ram to be able to carry that large testicle, I omitted to say that each of those strands is furnished with exceptionally tiny vessels, which I had discovered in the length of the strands.

I had also standing before a magnifying glass a small part of a cow, in which one sees the little vessels that come forth from the bone, making up the so-called bone membrane<sup>5</sup>, at which one sees the exceptionally tiny openings of those vessels, which show themselves to be thus far open, I imagine, because they are filled with fat.

I cannot refrain from saying to you, very noble sirs, that the heavy iron cross has to be renovated that is thought to have been standing by now on our new church tower for approximately two hundred years<sup>6</sup> (the part which constitutes the cross is a long heavy bar of iron, on which there is an iron bar crosswise, looking like the needle of a compass, which points towards the north and the south).

A certain gentleman<sup>7</sup> from another province, who visited me, said to me, that when iron has been standing for a long time high in the air, it has such a power that it is able to lift a needle on high.

Hereupon I send a carpenter to fetch a piece of the said iron. When I put such a piece of iron, which had a length of approximately a span<sup>8</sup> and was a quarter of an inch thick, near a needle, and afterwards near a compass, it brought no movement about, neither of the needle nor of the compass.

Soon afterwards the said carpenter brings me some little pieces, resembling rusty iron, that he had struck off from the cross, at the place where the cross had four long iron arms and where the cross was resting on a long standing beam, each side of which on that spot was nine inches. The cross was fastened through the four arms with iron bands and [the entire cross] was covered with lead in such a way that water could not get into it.

I put this iron, which appeared to be rusty, close to some sewing needles, and I saw that it raised not merely a single needle, but four separate needles, the one clinging to the other, and which remained suspended on this wondrous iron. This iron had a greater magnetic effect than two lodestones, which I had in my house at that time. I found this modified iron, which did not resemble any kind of iron, to be so hard that no file had any effect on it. I had a knife-grinder sharpen one of my largest pieces. He spent much time on it, continually saying: this is harder than steel.

This was so much talked about, and so many people came to obtain some of it from me, that I have kept no more than a single piece for myself.

<sup>5</sup> For L.'s previous letter on the bone membrane or *periosteum*, see Letter L-566 of 20 November 1720, in this volume.

<sup>6</sup> The tower of the New Church (Nieuwe Kerk) was rebuilt after being destroyed in the city-wide fire of 1536.

Not identified. For a complete list of known visitors to L.'s house, see Appendix 16, Collected Letters, vol. 20.

<sup>8</sup> span, a unit of measurement of about 20 cm, the distance between the thumb and little finger of an outstretched hand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> A Rhineland *inch* is 2.61 cm.; *nine inches* is therefore 23.5 cm.

LETTER NO. L-572 21 APRIL 1722

I have made many notes on this, and also about iron in the form of rust, and about iron and iron ore.

You, very noble sirs, are so kind as to send me a part of the *Philosophical Transactions* <sup>10</sup>, which accompanied your letter. But because the letter was delivered by the post, I have soon afterwards written to my friend ZEEGER HOBIKS <sup>11</sup>, corn merchant in Rotterdam, to inquire about the said parcel. He, consequently, immediately went to the captain of the sloop <sup>12</sup> that was just arriving, who assured him that the parcel had not yet arrived, but that it might possibly arrive in the care of the next captain, which I eagerly look forward to. In the meantime, I am most grateful for your kindness, very noble sirs, in sending me such a present, howbeit undeserved, and I shall remain with very great respect

of you, very noble sirs. the most humble servant,

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

With good health, I shall soon send my discoveries with regard to fat<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See Letter L-571 of 22 February 1722 from JURIN to L., in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> ZEGER HOBUS married widow CATHARINA VAN LEEUWEN, the granddaughter of L.'s sister CATHARINE, on 16 November 1719 (Oud Archief van de Stad Rotterdam, archive 1-01, inv. 1062, 03-12-1719, Stadstrouw). Their only surviving child, MARGARIETA CORNELIA HOBUS (1723-1748), inherited half of the estate of L.'s daughter MARIA in 1745 (Oud Notarieel Archief Delft, archive 161, inv. 2753, fol. 19).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> sloop, a small seagoing vessel for short sea shipping or coastal shipping.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> In L.'s next letter to the Royal Society, Letter L-573 of 1 May 1722, in this volume, he examines fat.

Gericht aan: de Royal Society.

Manuscript: Eigenhandige, ondertekende brief. Het manuscript bevindt zich te

Londen, Royal Society, Early Letters L4.77; 7 kwartobladzijden; 1 gravure met 3 figuren. Aldaar ook een contemporaine kopie van de brief in Letter Book Original 15.75, blz. 250, 10 blz. Voor een eigentijdse, Engelse vertaling door JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE, zie: Early Letters L4.78; 7

foliobladzijden.

# GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1722: 'A Letter to the Royal Society concerning the Particles of Fat. By Mr. Leeuwenhoek, F. R. S. Translated from the Dutch by John Chamberlayne, Esq.' *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 augustus 1722), blz. 93-99, 3 figuren. - Vrijwel volledige Engelse vertaling van de brief.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, blz. 145. - Nederlandse samenvatting.

#### SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief neemt L. de structuur waar van vetdeeltjes bij schapen, lammeren, platvissen en baars. Door het vet te smelten, vind hij er talloze aderen en vliezen in.

# FIGUREN:

Bij deze brief behoorden drie figuren. L. stuurde echter geen originele tekeningen, maar een enkele gravure. De figuren 1-3 staan op de plaat bij nr. 372 van de *Philosophical Transactions*.

# OPMERKINGEN:

Op 21 juni 1722 O.S. werd deze brief voorgelezen tijdens de vergadering van de Royal Society; Zie Royal Society, Journal Book, Dl. 13, blz. 208, alwaar een samenvatting van de brief welke eindigt met, 'Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was ordered Thanks'.

Delft in Holland den 1e Maij 1722

Aan de Hoog Edele Heeren Mijn Heeren die vande Coninkl. Soci<sup>t</sup> in London

Hoog Edele Heeren.

Mijn laasten alderonderdanigste is geweest den 17e. April laast leden 1. Ik neme weder de vrijheijt dese volgende waar neming die ik ontrent twee jaar geleden, hebbe op gestelt UE: Hoog Edele Heeren te laten toe komen.

Ik2 hebbe voor desen geseijt, dat inde taruw, Rogge, gerst, en haver en in alle boonen, de stoffe die wij meel noemen, in selletiens, ofte Camertiens, leggen als op geslooten<sup>3</sup>, ende dat dese Celletiens van een gescheijden sijn, door dunne vliesjens of wel vaatiens, ende wel dunst inde taruw, ende alsoo ik inde ondersoekinge van het soo genaamde been-vlies<sup>4</sup>, de vet deelen soo van een Rund, als Schaap, bij mij veel malen sijn ontstukken gebrooken, ende de ontstukken gebrooken deeltjens veel maal door het vergrootglas beschout, als mede hebbe ik veel malen eenige weijnige vet bolletjens5, op suijvere glasen geplaast, ende dan het glas met de vet bolletjens, over een kole vuurs, of bij een vlam van een kaars soo lang gehouden, tot dat de bolletjens vet waren gesmolten, en als in een vloeijende stoffe gebragt sijnde, dat niet alleen het vet dat inde schors van het vet bolletje lag op geslooten, maar de schorsse vande vet bolletjens mede in een vloeijende stoffe was gebragt; aan stonts het geseijde voor mijn gesigt gebragt, ende het selve<sup>6</sup> met aandagt beschouwende, sag ik wanneer het gesmolte vet kout wierde, datter bijsondere<sup>7</sup> stoffe waren die inde vet bolletiens lagen op geslooten, want daar stremden een onbegrijpelijk groot getal van seer kleijne deelen ende de rest van deelen, die het vet waren uijtmakende lagen in een effe stoffe, als voor desen bij mij is geseijt, en ik hebbe wel in gedagten genomen, of in soo een vet bolletje wel mogte opslooten leggen soo veele Celletjens, en bijsonderheden<sup>8</sup> als wij in een kleijn vrugje of zaatje komen te sien, dog of sulks is, sal voor onse ooge verborgen blijven.

De vorige brief van L. aan de Royal Society is Brief L-572 van 21 april 1722, in dit deel. Met de datum 17 april vergist L. zich dus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> De hier beginnende alinea, een complex van zinnen dat in het hs. 26 regels telt, is door L. als één zin opgeschreven. De opening: 'Ik hebbe voor desen geseijt' functioneert alleen voor de eerste - goed gebouwde - zin van het complex, die doorloopt tot *ende alsoo*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Zie Brief 298 [III] L-492 van 28 februari 1713 en Brief 321 L-526 of 25 februari 1716, Alle de Brieven, Dl. 17.

<sup>4 &#</sup>x27;Beenvlies', nu ook het *periost* genoemd. Zie voor L.'s recente besprekingen van het beenvlies, Brief L-572 van 21 april 1722 en in het bijzonder Brief L-566 van 20 november 1720, in dit deel.

<sup>5</sup> L. schreef gedurende zijn hele carrière over dierlijke vetten, te beginnen met Brief 9 [5] L-012 van 6 juli 1674, idem, Dl. 1, en meest recentelijk in Brief 307 [XI] L-507 van 21 augustus 1714 en Brief 315 [XVII] L-518 van 7 juli 1715, idem, Dl. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Lees: gebragt. Ende het selve.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> bijsondere, verschillende.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> De Engelse vertaling in de *Philosophical Transactions*, blz. 95, geeft: 'so many little Cells and Partitions'.

Dog nu weder met op merkinge dese gestremde vet bolletjens, waar van veele een bolletje vet sijn uijt makende, beschouwende, beelde ik mij veel malen in te sien, dat ijder vande geseijde kleijne deeltjens met soo een kerf, of wel een helder ligje is versien<sup>9</sup>, als ik geseijt hebbe dat de meel bolletjens van taruw<sup>10</sup>, enz: hebben; uijt dese waar neminge, seijde ik als tot mijn selven, na de maal wij bevinden dat de Heere maker van het geheel Al <sup>11</sup>, in het te samen gestel van sijn schepselen seer na op een ende deselve wijse heeft verrigt, ende dat geen vrugje en is gewassen, het sij hoe kleijne saatje, dat het ook is, of het heeft in sig op geslooten, dier gelijke deelen die inde groote zaaden sijn hoe wel in groote verschillende, egter een over een kominge hebben, dit soo sijnde, soo konnen wij ons wel in beelden, dat een vet bolletje soo wel een schorsje heeft als eenig zaad, dat wij te meer malen hebben gesien, en van binnen mede versien is met deeltjens, over een komende met de zaaden die wij taruw, haver enz. noemen, ende of wij verscheijde malen het vet door het vuur vloeijende maken, soo stremmen egter de kleijne deelen, die in een vet bolletje sijn op geslooten, weder in haar voorige gedaante, als mede voor desen bij mij is geseijt.

Ja ik hebbe mij wel in gebeelt, hoe wel voor mijn gesigt verborgen sal blijven, dat ijder vet deeltje van binnen met celletjens is versien, als de vrugten of zaaden.

Sedert dat ik voor gaande op het papier hebbe gestelt, seijt men tot mij, datter een schaap is geslagt, van ongemeene vette, en dat groot is, ende dat gewoge hadde, geslagt sijnde hondert en veertig ponden<sup>12</sup> hadde gewogen, ende dat het vet dat men van het geslagte schaap hadde genomen een en vijftig ponden hadde gewogen ende dat het schaap hadde gewogen een hondert en tnegentig pont<sup>13</sup>.

Ik liet een stuk vet van dat schaap, het geene ontrent het nier was halen met die gedagten, dat soo danige vet greijnen<sup>14</sup> grooter van kern souden wesen, als de geseijde deelen van gemeene schaapen, en ik hebbe ook verscheijde malen waar genomen, dat hoe grooter Rund hoe grooter vet deelen, en om dat den duijsenste mens geen kennisse heeft van het maaksel vande vet greijntiens, want men siet datter geen twee van een ende de selve form sijn, om dat deselve als te vooren bij mij meermalen is geseijt, gedrukt tegen malkanderen aan leggen, en ook als omvangen werden, waar van ik eenige weijnige vet deeltiens hebbe laten afteijkenen, als hier met fig: 1. tussen ABCD. werd af gebeelt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> De betekenis van L. met dat *ligje* is onduidelijk. In de *Philosophical Transactions* wordt gesproken van 'a transparent Dent'.

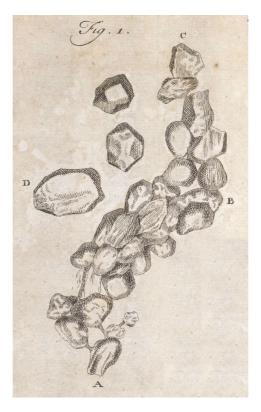
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> taruw, tarwe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In eerdere brieven werd de Heere maker van het geheel Al met kapitale letters geschreven. Zie bijvoorbeeld Brief L-568 van 24 Januari 1721, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Een pond is 476 g. 'hondert en veertig ponden' is daarmee 66,6 kg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> 'hondert en tnegentig pont' komt overeen met 90,4 kg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> vet greijnen, eig. korreltjes vet.



Als ons in een vet bondelken, gelijk ons veel maal is te vooren gekomen, waar aan de vet deelen wel vier maal dikker als vast saaten, soo beelt ik mij in, dat soo danige vet deelen niet en konnen voort gebragt werden, uijt een enkel vet aderken, maar dat uijt soo een vet aderke weder verscheijde sprankjens<sup>15</sup> voort komen, en uijt ijder van die sprankjens weder eenige weijnige sprankjens, en uijt ijder van die deeltjens weder gefourmeert werd een vet deeltje, over een komende met de trotsen druijven.

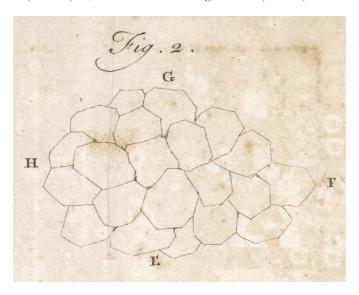
Nu hadde ik op verscheijde plaatsen het vet soo dun als ik de selve met een Raijsoor<sup>16</sup> van een grooter stuk vet hadde af gesnede op verscheijde glasen, en ik bragt die vet deelen over een koole vuurs tot soo een hitte dat ze smelten mogten, ende gesmolten sijnde aanstonts voor het Vergroot-glas, en sag alsdan, de schorsse ofte bast vande vet bolletjens, inde gesmolte vet deelen leggen en aan welke gesmolte vet deelen niet anders te sien was, als een heldere stoffe beset met eenige lugt bolletjens, dog wanneer het vet gestremt was, konde men de schorsse vande vet bolletjens seer weijnig bekennen, om datze bedekt lagen, met de deeltjens vet, waar mede de schorsse van de vet deelen waren gevult geweest.

Ik hebbe een weijnigje vande schorsse vande vet bolletjens laten afteijkenen, als hier fig: 2 tussen EFGH. werd aangewesen.

<sup>15</sup> sprankjens, zijtakjes.

<sup>16</sup> Raijsoor, scheermes. De zin Nu hadde ... glasen is verward. L. bedoelde waarschijnlijk te zeggen dat hij van een groot stuk vet op verschillende plaatsen met een scheermes zeer dunne schijfjes had gesneden, zo dun als hij kon. Hij heeft die vervolgens op verschillende glaasjes gebracht.

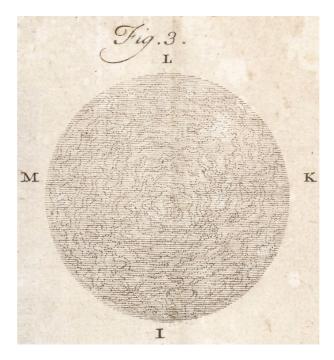
Inde geseijde waarneminge liet ik mijn oog met groote opmerkinge weder vallen op de vet deelen van het schaap die gesmolten hadden geweest, en weder gestremt waren, en ik mogt oordeelen dat de vet deeltjens die uijt nemende kl[e]ijn sijn, met de binne stoffe, waar mede eenige seer kleijne zaadjens of gewassen mede versien sijn, en ik sag in seer veele van die uijt nemende kleijne deeltjens, met helder weder eenige doorschijnentheijt.



Vorders snede ik soo dunne schijfjens van het vet als het mij doenlijk was, ja soo danig datze met 5. à 6 geen aas<sup>17</sup> swaarte hebben gewoogen, en ik liet die vallen in een weijnig water, om waar te nemen of ik door sulk doen, eenige nader waarneminge, ontrent de kleijne vet deelen soude konnen doen maar sulks was te vergeefs, alleen sag ik op het water drijven seer kleijne vet deeltjens, die in een ronde figuur waren gestremt, ende de grootste was der selver hoe grootheijt niet boven een sand groote<sup>18</sup>, dese vet deeltjens op een glas geplaast hebbende, ende door het vergroot-glas beschouwende sag ik de figuur daar ik hier voor mentie van gemaakt hebbe soo naakt als te vooren, en op andere vet deeltjens scheenen ze van een ander maaksel en ik gaf het den teijkenaar inde handen, met bij voeginge dat hij het geene hij quam te sien soude teijkenen, sijnde het gedaant van een geseijt vet deeltje dat op het water gestremt was als hier fig. 3. tussen IKLM. werd aan gewesen, het welke niet wel over een komt met andere gesmolte vet deelen, want in sulk doen en smelt alle de vet deelen niet, want de vet deele gaan alle niet tot het water over, en stremmen, op het water in kleijnder en grooter ronde deelen te samen, ende als wij het overige vande schijfiens vet, die in het water blijven drijven, uijt het water nemen, ende deselve door het Vergroot glas beschouwen, soo bevinden wij, dat veele vet deelen nog in ons oog in haar geheel sijn gebleven ende daar ze te vooren seer effen, en gelijk van sijden hadden geweest, nu de gladdigheijt in bultagtige waren verandert, soo dat men wel een besluijt soude maken, datter in de vet tweederleij deelen waren, namentlijk, dat het eene gedeelte ligter dan het ander gedeelte was smeltende.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Een aas is 47 mg. De afgesneden dunne plakjes vet wogen dus per stuk ongeveer 8 à 9 mg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Een sand groote is ongeveer 0,064 mm<sup>3</sup>.



Om dese gesmolte vet deelen van het water sonder te schenden te nemen gebruijkten ik een rond glas, en met hetselve raakten ik maar de superfitie van het water en dus bleven eenige te samen gestremde vet deelen aan het glas kleven.

Vorders hebbe ik eenige vet deelen die op het water gestremt waren, weder laten smelten, ende dat bij een koole vuurs ende weder gestremt sijnde, ende door het Vergroot glas beschouwende bevond ik de seer kleijne vet deeltjens kleijnder dan de vet deeltjens die buijten het water waren gesmolten.

Ik hebbe in dese mijne laaste waar neminge met verwondering gesien, de onbegrijpelijke menigte van aderen en vliesen, die door het vet verspreijt lagen, ende de menigte van gesepareerde vet deelen, die in haar vliesen omwonden lagen.

Na desen hebbe ik voor mij leggen, een suijg lams agter quartier, waar aan het soo genaamde net uijt gespreijt was, en van welk net eenige stukjens daar aan weijnig ofte geen vet aan te bekennen was, met een schaartje af gesnede ende deselve voor het Vergroot-glas plaatsende, en beschouwende, sag ik weder dat de vet bolletjens daar deselve seer weijnig bij den anderen, ende tussen de menbrane beslooten lagen, een meerder rondigheijt hadden, als daar deselve veel bij den anderen lagen, en op andere plaatsen lagen als verplettert, ende sulks beelde ik mij in dat veroorsaakt was, dat de vleesslagter, het Net aldaar met de vingers gedrukt was, en op een andere plaats waren de vet deeltjens soo ontstukken gedrukt, datter niet over was, soo het mij toescheen, als de schorsse vande vet bolletjens.

Vorders sag ik dat de vet deeltiens mede soo een kneep hadden, als ik hier vooren hebbe geseijt, dat de meel bolletiens vande taruw hebben, uijt welk gesigt ik nu meer als te vooren in gedagten nam, dat de vet bolletjens ha[r]e inleggende stoffe voor het geheel of ten deele soude konnen loosen, alleen met het openen van dese kneep, sonder het schorsje te breeken.

Wijders hebbe ik de dunne menbrane die de vet deelen bekleeden, af genomen, ende deselve voor het vergroot-glas geplaast, en gesien, dat de vet deelen, soo een rondagtige figuure

inde menbrane hadden gedrukt, hellende na sessijdige figuurtiens, dat het een vermaak was om te sien, dog op andere plaatsen waren de in gedrukte plaatsjens wat langagtig.

Vorders hebbe ik genomen de scharre die wij plat vis noemen en hebbe het vet dat aan de vaatiens, of beenderen vast was, en dat selvige voor het Vergroot-glas geplaast hebbende, waar genomen dat de vet deelen van bijsondere grootheden waren, ende daar onder eenige soo kleijne, dat ik oordeelde dat vijftig van de kleijnste met den anderen, de groote van een groot vet bolletje souden uijt maken, ende daar benevens sag ik veele vande vet bolletiens soo een kneep hadden, als wij aan de meel deelen, die inde witte boontjens die wij turcxe boontiens 19 noemen 20.

Naderhand breng[t] mijn bediende<sup>21</sup> tot mij het vet uijt een baars die 9 à 10 duijmen<sup>22</sup> lang was, en ik nam een weijnig vet van het selve in het welke ik geen seer kleijne vet deelen konde bekennen, nog ook geen inwendige kneep, gelijk ik int vet van een kleijne scharre hadde ontdekt.

Na dat het vet vande baars, een ure ofte twee op het glas hadde gelegen, beschoude ik het vet vande baars weder en ik sag dat de vet deeltjens vermindert, ofte kleij[n]der waren geworden, ende dat de schorssen vande vet deelen die nog met eenige vet deelen beset lagen met rimpels of ploijs gewijse vouw deelen lagen als in getrokken, ende het uijt gestorte vet, lag om de vet deelen, dat soo helder en soo vloeijbaar was datter geen deelen aan te bekennen waren.

Uijt dese waarneminge nam ik in gedagten, of ijder van alle de vet deelen, niet wel een opening was in geschapen, om tot allen tijden eenig vet uijt te storten, als de vis deelen voetsel van nooden hadden, sonder dat de schorsse vande vet bollen gans ontdaan wierden, want wij bevinden door gaans dat wanneer de baars sijn eijertiens die wij kuijt noemen, ofte Hom<sup>23</sup> in groote toe nemen, haar vet ook vermindert, ja soo danig dat als de kuijt op haar grootste gekomen is, selden of geen vet aan de darmen gevonden word.

Dus verre sijn mijne aanteek[en]inge ontrent het vet, en ik sal bij gesontheijt int kort nog eenige van mijne waar neminge, die ik op het papier hebbe gebragt, uwe Hoogh Edel[e] Heeren laten toekomen, want mijn dagen kort sijn<sup>24</sup>, en ik nog met verlangen het present vande Philosophical transactions<sup>25</sup> die uwe Hoogh Edele Heeren, mij hebt gelieven te vereeren met verlangen te gemoet sien, en met groote agtinge te gemoet sien, en onder tussen blijven<sup>26</sup>.

uwe Hoog Edele Heeren Alderonderdanigste dienaar

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>19</sup> turexe boontiens, waarschijnlijk de pronkboon (Phaseolus coccineus L.) die vanuit Midden-Amerika naar Europa was gekomen. Het is gewoonlijk een lange sperzieboon, maar een variant ervan is een witte boon. Turks werd destijds toegepast op verschillende planten die recent niet-Europese oorsprong hadden. L. schreef eerder over wat hij Turkse bonen noemde in Brief 298 [III] L-492 van 28 februari 1713, idem, Dl. 17, blz. 48, aant. 16, en over Turkse tarwe in Brief L-537 [XXVI] van 22 juni 1716, idem, Dl. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> De benaming 'turkse boon' werd behalve voor witte bonen ook voor andere soorten gebruikt. Zie WNT, Dl. 17 (2), kol. 1212.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Waarschijnlijk zijn dienstmeid JOSINA VAN DER SPRENKEL. Zie Brief L-569 van 11 april 1721, aant. 8, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Een *duijm* is 2,61 cm. '9 à 10 duijmen' is daarmee circa 25 cm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Hom staat voor 'de baars zijn Hom'. Het is dus syntactisch parallel met eijertiens en niet met kuijt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Hij zou in feite nog 15 maanden leven.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> In zijn brief aan JAMES JURIN van dezelfde dag ging L. dieper in op dit cadeau. Zie Brief L-574 van 1 mei 1722, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> De volgende brief van L. aan de Royal Society is Brief L-576 of 13 juni 1722, in dit deel.

Addressed to: The Royal Society.

Manuscript: Signed autograph letter. The manuscript is to be found in London, Royal

Society, Early Letters L4.77; 7 quarto pages; 1 engraving with 3 figures. A contemporary copy of the letter is also present in Letter Book Original 15.75, p. 250, 10 pp. For a contemporary English translation of the letter

by JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE, see Early Letters L4.78; 7 folio pages.

# PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1722: "A Letter to the Royal Society concerning the Particles of Fat. By Mr. Leeuwenhoek, F. R. S. Translated from the Dutch by John Chamberlayne, Esq." *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 August 1722), no. 372, pp. 93-99, 3 figures. – Practically complete English translation of the letter.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 145. – Dutch summary.

#### SUMMARY:

In this letter, L. observes the structure of fat particles in sheep, lamb, flatfish, and perch. After melting the fat, he finds numerous veins and membranes in it.

# FIGURES:

The original drawings are lost. Three figures came with this letter. Instead of drawings, L. sent a single engraving accompanying this letter. The figures 1-3 are to be found on the plate with no. 372 of *Philosophical Transactions*.

#### REMARKS:

The letter was read during the 21 June 1722 O.S. meeting of the Royal Society; Royal Society, Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 208. It includes a summary of the letter and ends, "Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was ordered Thanks".

Delft in Holland, the 1st of May 1722

To the very noble gentlemen The gentlemen of the Roy. Soc. in London

Very noble sirs.

My last most humble letter was the one of the 17th of April last<sup>1</sup>. I take again the liberty to send to you, very noble sirs, the following observation, which I drew up about two years ago.

I have said earlier that in wheat, rye, barley, and oats, and in all beans, the substances that we call meal lie enclosed in little cells, or chambers<sup>2</sup>. These cells are separated from one another by thin little membranes, otherwise vessels, and these are thinnest in wheat. In the investigations of the so-called bone membrane<sup>3</sup>, the parts of fat both of a cow and a sheep have many times been broken to pieces by me; and I have many times observed through the magnifying glass the little parts that had broken to pieces. Many times, I also put some few little globules of fat4 on clean glasses and then held that glass with the globules of fat so long above a live coal or close to the flame of a candle, until the globules of fat melted. And when they had turned into a fluid substance, so that not only the fat that lay enclosed in the rind of the little globule, but the rind of the globule of fat had turned into a fluid substance as well, I forthwith put before my eyes that which has been described. Observing it with attention, I saw when the molten fat grew cold that various substances were lying enclosed in the little globules of fat. For an inconceivably large number of very tiny particles congealed there, and the remnant of the parts that make up the fat were lying as a smooth substance, as I have said earlier. At times, I have pondered the idea whether maybe in such a globule of fat as many little cells and separate particles might be lying enclosed, as we see in a little fruit or seed. But whether this is the case will remain hidden from our eyes.

But now again observing with attention these congealed little globules of fat, many of which together constitute a single globule of fat, I thought many times that I saw that each of the said little particles was furnished with such a notch, or a clear little light<sup>5</sup>, as I have said is in the meal globules of wheat, etc. On the strength of this observation, I said to myself: because we find that the Lord Creator of the Universe<sup>6</sup> in constructing his creatures has proceeded in very nearly one and the same manner, and that no little fruit has grown, however small a seed it may be, which does not keep enclosed within itself similar parts as are present in the large seeds, the former, although different as to size, yet resemble the latter. This being so, surely we may, then, imagine that a globule of fat has a little rind,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> L.'s previous letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-572 of 21 April 1722, in this volume. L. is therefore mistaken with the date of 17 April.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Letter 298 [III] L-492 of 28 February 1713 and Letter 321 L-526 of 25 February 1716, Collected Letters, vol. 17.

Now called the *periosteum*. For L.'s recent discussions of the *periosteum*, see Letter L-572 of 21 April 1722 and especially Letter L-566 of 20 November 1720, both in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> L. wrote about animal fats throughout his career, beginning with Letter 9 [5] L-012 of 6 July 1674, *idem*, vol. 1, and most recently in Letter 307 [XI] L-507 of 21 August 1714 and Letter 315 [XVII] L-518 of 7 July 1715, *idem*, vol. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> L.'s meaning here is not clear. In the *Philosophical Transactions*, een helder ligje is translated as "a transparent Dent".

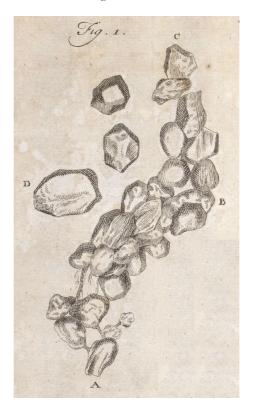
<sup>6</sup> In previous letters, Lord Creator of the Universe was written in capital letters. See, for example, Letter L-568 of 24 January 1721, in this volume.

as well as any kind of seed, which we have seen several times, and that it is internally furnished with particles, just like the seeds that we call wheat, oats, etc. Even if we make the fat fluid by means of fire, yet the little parts that are enclosed in a globule of fat congeal again into their former shape, as I have also said earlier.

Indeed, I have imagined, although it will remain hidden from my eyes, that each particle of fat is furnished internally with little cells, like the fruits or seeds.

After I had put the foregoing on paper, I was told that a sheep had been slaughtered that was unusually fat and large and weighed a hundred and forty pounds<sup>7</sup> after being slaughtered. The fat that was taken from the slaughtered sheep weighed fifty-one pounds, and the sheep had weighed one hundred and ninety pounds.<sup>8</sup>

I ordered to be fetched a piece of fat of that sheep that was situated close to the kidney, thinking that such grains of fat would have a larger kernel than such parts, as just mentioned, of average sheep. I have also observed several times that the larger a cow is, so much the larger are the parts of fat. Because not one among a thousand people knows anything about the make-up of the little grains of fat, for one sees that not two of them have the same shape, because (as I have said earlier several times) they lie pressed against one another, and also, as it were, encompassed by one another, I had some few of these parts of fat drawn, as is shown here in Fig. 1 between ABCD.



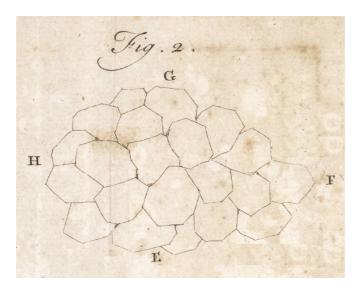
A pound is 476 g. 140 pounds is therefore 66.6 kg.

<sup>8 190</sup> pounds equals 90.4 kg.

When we saw that in a little bundle of fat, which we have often seen, the parts of fat were attached as much as four times thicker [than is usual], then I imagine that such parts of fat cannot be fashioned by a single little vein of fat, but that from such a vein of fat several little branches come forth in their turn. Out of each of those branches again come forth some few branches, and that from each of these little parts a part of fat is again formed, resembling a bunch of grapes.

Now I in several places cut off the fat from a larger piece of fat with a razor, as thin as I could, and put them on several glasses. I heated those parts of fat above a live coal to such a degree that they would melt. When they had melted, I put them forthwith in front of the magnifying glass, and then I saw the bark, or rind, of the little globules of fat lying in the molten parts of fat. In this molten fat, nothing could be seen but a clear substance, containing some little air bubbles. But when the fat congealed, very little could be seen of the rinds of the globules of fat because they were lying covered with the particles of fat with which the rinds of the parts of fat had been filled.

I had a little bit of the rind of the globules of fat drawn, as is shown here in Fig. 2 between EFGH.



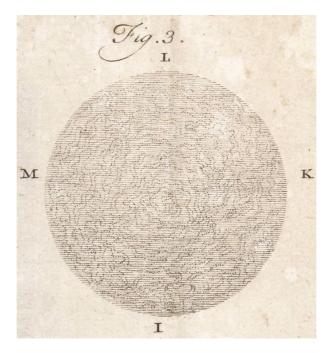
In the observation just mentioned, I again cast my eye with great attention on the parts of fat of the sheep that had melted and then again congealed. I could not but conclude that the particles of fat, which are exceptionally small, [resemble] the inner substance with which some very small seeds or plants are equipped. In clear weather, I saw some transparency in many of these exceptionally small particles.

Furthermore, I cut little slices of the fat as thin as was feasible for me, indeed, so much so that 5 to 6 of them have not weighed as much as an aas<sup>9</sup>. I dropped them into a small amount of water in order to see whether by doing this I could carry out some further observations with regard to the small parts of fat, but this was in vain. I merely saw floating on the water very small particles of fat, which had congealed into a round shape, and the size of the largest one was not more than the size of a grain of sand<sup>10</sup>. Having put these

 $<sup>^9</sup>$   $\,$  An aas is 47 mg. The cut off thin slices of fat therefore weighed approximately 8 to 9 mg each..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> A grain of sand is 0.064 mm<sup>3</sup>

particles of fat on a glass and observing them through the magnifying glass, I saw the figure I mentioned before as clearly as previously. Other particles of fat seemed to have another make-up. I put this in the hands of the draughtsman, adding that he should draw what he saw: this being the form of a particle of fat, as mentioned, which had congealed upon the water, as is shown here in Fig. 3 between IKLM. It does not quite resemble other, molten, parts of fat, for in doing this not all parts of fat melt because not all parts of fat dissolve in the water. They congeal on the water in smaller and larger round parts. When we take the remnant of the little discs of fat, which remain floating on the water, out of the water and observe them through the magnifying glass, we then find that on the face of it, many parts of fat have still remained intact. Whereas previously they had been very smooth and even-sided, now the smoothness had become uneven, so that one might well conclude that two kinds of fat particles were present in the fat, to wit, that one part of the fat was melting more easily than the other.



In order to take these parts of molten fat out of the water without damaging them, I used a round glass, and with this I touched no more than the surface of the water. In this way, some congealed parts stayed on the glass.

Furthermore, I caused some parts of fat that had congealed on the water again to melt, and that near to a live coal. When they had again congealed and I observed them through the magnifying glass, I found that the tiny particles of fat were smaller than the particles of fat that had melted outside the water.

During this last observation of mine, I saw with amazement the inconceivable multitude of veins and membranes lying dispersed in the fat, and the multitude of separate parts of fat that lay wrapped in their membranes.

After this, I have lying before me the hind quarter of a sucking lamb, at which the so-called mesentery 11 was spread out. Having cut with a pair of little scissors a few pieces from this mesentery on which little or no fat was to be perceived, and putting them in front of the magnifying glass and observing them, I saw again that the little globules of fat were more rounded in places where only a few of them were lying near to one another and between membranes, than where many of them were lying close to one another. In other places, they were lying, as it were, crushed. I think that this was caused by the fact that there the butcher had pressed the mesentery with his fingers. In another place, the particles of fat had been so much crushed that nothing was left, as it seemed to me, than the little rinds of the globules of fat.

Furthermore, I saw that the little globules of fat also had such a pinch<sup>12</sup> as I have said earlier that is present in the meal globules of wheat. From this sight, I now began to think more so than before that the globules of fat could wholly or partly discharge the substance that they contain by merely opening up this pinch, without breaking the little rind.

Moreover, I removed the thin membranes that cover the parts of fat and put them in front of the magnifying glass. I saw that the parts of fat had left an impression on the membranes of such a roundish form, verging on hexagonal figures, that it was a pleasure to see it. But in other places, the impressions were rather longish.

Furthermore, I took the dab, which we call a flatfish, and I [removed] the fat that was attached to the little vessels, or the bones. Putting this in front of the magnifying glass, I perceived that the parts of fat had various sizes. Among them, there were such tiny ones that I judged that fifty of the smallest parts together would make up the size of a large globule of fat. Besides, I saw that many of the globules had such a pinch as we see in the meal parts, which are present in the little white beans that we call Turkish beans 13.

Afterwards, my servant<sup>14</sup> brings to me the fat of a perch that was 9 to 10 inches long<sup>15</sup>. I took a small amount of fat from this, in which I could perceive neither very tiny parts of fat, nor an interior pinch, as I had discovered in the fat of a small dab.

After the fat of the perch had been lying on the glass for some two hours, I again observed the fat of the perch, and I saw that the particles of fat had diminished, or grown smaller, and that the rinds of the parts of fat, on which there were still lying some [other] parts of fat, were lying shrunk, with wrinkles and pleat-like folded parts. The fat that had been discharged was lying around the parts of fat, which was so clear and fluid that no parts could be perceived in it.

<sup>11</sup> L. writes net, short for darmnet, the caul covering the bowels. In L.'s time, the term mesenterium, or mesentery, was just coming into use in both English and Dutch.

Here, L. writes kneep. In the third paragraph of the letter, he uses kerf to refer to the same structure.

Probably the scarlet runner (*Phaseolus coccineus* L.) that had come to Europe from Central America. It is commonly a long green bean, but a variant of it is a white bean. At the time, *Turkse* was applied to various plants that had recent non-European origins. L. writes about what he called Turkish beans in Letter 298 [III] L-492 of 28 February 1713, *Collected Letters*, vol. 17, p. 49, n. 5, and about Turkish wheat in Letter L-537 [XXVI] of 22 June 1716, *idem*, vol. 18.

Probably his maid JOSINA VAN DER SPRENKEL. See Letter L-569 of 11 April 1721, n. 8, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> An inch is 2.61 cm. 9 to 10 inches is therefore approximately 25 cm.

Consequent upon this observation the idea occurred to me whether perhaps each one of all parts of fat had been created with an opening, so as at any time to pour out some fat when the fish parts required some nourishment, without the rinds of the globules opening up completely. For we find always that when the little eggs of the perch, which we call hard roe, or its soft roe, increase as to size, its fat likewise diminishes, indeed, so much so, that when the hard roe has attained its maximum size, rarely any fat, or none at all, is to be found in the intestines.

So far run my notes with regard to the fat, and all being well, I shall before long send to you, very noble sirs, some more of my notes that I have put on paper, for the days remaining to me are few<sup>16</sup>. I shall eagerly and with great respect still look forward to the present of the Philosophical Transactions<sup>17</sup>, which you, very noble sirs, have been pleased to bestow on me, and in the meantime remain<sup>18</sup>.

of you, very noble sirs the most humble servant

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> He would, in fact, live for another 15 months.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> In his cover letter to JAMES JURIN dated the same day, L. discusses this present in more detail. See Letter L-574 of 1 May 1722, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> L.'s next letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-576 of 13 June 1722, in this volume.

BRIEF Nr. L-574 1 MAY 1722

Gericht aan: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Eigenhandige, ondertekende brief. Het manuscript bevindt zich te

Londen, Royal Society, Early Letters, L4.69; 2 kwartobladzijden. Aldaar ook een eigentijdse Engelse vertaling van de brief door JAMES JURIN in

Early Letters, L4.70; 1 bladzijde.

#### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), letter 25.

# SAMENVATTING:

In deze begeleidende brief vraagt L. om steun voor zijn observaties aan parthenogenetische dieren, wier bestaan mensen moeilijk vinden te geloven. Hij probeert het pakket *Philosophical Transactions* op te sporen dat JURIN hem had gestuurd.

# OPMERKINGEN:

Deze brief is niet voorgelezen tijdens een vergadering van de Royal Society. Zie voor JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) en een overzicht van zijn briefwisseling met L. de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 in dit deel. Zie voor een volledige lijst van de briefwisseling tussen L. en JURIN, Bijlage 13, *Alle de Brieven*, Dl. 20. BRIEF Nr. L-574 1 MAY 1722

Delft in Holland den 1e Meij 1722

Aande Wel Edele Heere JACOB JURIN<sup>1</sup>

Wel Edele Heere.

Ik neme de vrijheijt, tot uwe Wel Edele Heere te seggen dat ik alle mijn brieven, die ik aan de Hoog Edele Heeren die vande Coninklijke Societeit, sedert eenige jaren hebbe geschreven op het versoek vande geseijde Heeren geaddresseert inde Fleet Street inde ganse Court<sup>2</sup>.

Ik hebbe in mijne waar neminge geseijt, datter int water (soo veel mij bekent is) twee schepsels sijn, die niet versamelen, en egter jongen voort brengen, ende dat sijn Alen ende Garnaat<sup>3</sup> ende onder de kleijne vliegende schepsels sij[n]der die altemaal wijfjens sijn, en jongen voortbrengen het sij<sup>4</sup> die Eijeren leggen ofte levende schepsels voort brengen, die bij seker Heer Harmafroditen genaamt wierden, en dit mij[n] seggen, vint bij veele gans geen ingank, en mijn wens is, dat de een ofte de ander liefhebber, mij daar in behulpig mogte sijn op dat de tegen spreekers de mont mogte gestopt werden.

De Garnaat kan ligt na gespeurt werden, om dat die niet sonder eijeren sijn, want als de Eijeren, aan de werktuijgen daar mede voort swemmen, swartagtig werden dan hebbenze al weder kleijne eijeren int lijf, die soo voor een gedeelte geplaast werden, in haar buijk, die den gemene man het hooft vande garnaad noemt, en voor een gedeelte tusse de vis deelen aan het soo genaamde hooft, ende tegen de harde schors, die de vis bekleet, ende deselve krijgen ook twee maal in een jaar jongen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dit is de eerste brief van L. aan JURIN., een antwoord op diens Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 (gedateerd 22 februari 1722 O.S.), in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Als president van de Royal Society verhuisde ISAAC NEWTON in 1710 het hoofdkantoor van de Society van Gresham College naar Crane Court, een huis gebouwd door collega CHRISTOPHER WREN in Fleet Street. L. vertaalt ten onrechte *crane* (kraanvogel) als *ganse* (ganzen).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Garnaat, garnalen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In het hs. abusievelijk *sijn*.

BRIEF Nr. L-574 1 MAY 1722

Mijnen vrient tot Rotterdam<sup>5</sup> die na het paket transactions<sup>6</sup> heeft vernomen, heeft hem ook begeven bij den vermaanden Coopman op London Mr FURLEIJ<sup>7</sup>, die aan genomen heeft alle de Capiteins varende met sloepen op Londen bij hem te laten komen en na het geseijde vernemen. Ik blijf met veel agtinge<sup>8</sup>.

Uwe Wel Edele Heere Sijne Onderdanige Dienaar

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

Deze vriend is waarschijnlijk ZEGER HOBUS, die L. noemde in Brief L-571 van 21 april 1722 (zie aant. 14).

<sup>6</sup> In zijn Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 (gedateerd 22 februari 1722 O.S.) schrijft JURIN dat de leden van de Royal Society 'desire you will be pleased to accept the volume of *Philosophical Transactions*, which accompanies this letter'. In het antwoord van L, Brief L-572 van 21 april 1722, merkte hij op dat het pakket niet was aangekomen en dat zijn pogingen om het op te sporen tevergeefs waren geweest. Beide brieven staan in dit deel.

Dit verwijst naar de rijke Engels-Nederlandse koopman BENJOHAN FURLY (1681-1738), die in een groot huis aan het Haringvliet in Rotterdam woonde. Hij was de oudste zoon en opvolger van de Rotterdamse koopman van Engelse afkomst, BENJAMIN FURLY (1636-1714). In Rotterdam was FURLY senior de leider van de Quaker-gemeenschap. Vanaf 1665 organiseerde hij regelmatig discussies in zijn Rotterdamse woning, waar natuurfilosofie een van de agendapunten was. JOHN LOCKE, vriend van zowel vader als zoon FURLY, was een van de vaste aanwezigen bij deze bijeenkomsten. BENJOHAN FURLY was een van de ondernemers die in de jaren 1720 het transport van grote aantallen Duitse en Zwitserse emigranten naar Pennsylvania en andere Amerikaanse koloniën faciliteerde.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> De volgende brief van L. aan JURIN is Brief L-577 van 13 juni 1722, een antwoord op Brief L-575 van JURIN van 26 mei 1722 (gedateerd 15 mei 1722 O.S.). Beide brieven staan in dit deel.

Addressed to: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Signed autograph letter. The manuscript is to be found in London, Royal

Society, Early Letters L4.69; 2 quarto pages. A contemporary English translation by JAMES JURIN is also preserved in in Early Letters L4.70; 1

page.

# PUBLISHED IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), letter 25.

# SUMMARY:

In this cover letter, L. asks for support for his observations of parthenogenetic animals, whose existence people find difficult to believe. He tries to track down the parcel of *Philosophical Transactions* that JURIN had sent him.

# **REMARKS:**

This letter was not read at a meeting of the Royal Society. The translation here differs slightly from JURIN's, which was the one used by RUSNOCK.

For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 in this volume. See Appendix 13, *Collected Letters*, vol. 20, for a complete list of the correspondence between JURIN and L.

Delft in Holland, the 1st of May 1722<sup>1</sup>

To the honoured gentleman JAMES JURIN

Honoured sir.

I take the liberty to say to you, honoured sir, that I have addressed all my letters, which I have for some years written to the very noble gentlemen of the Royal Society at the request of the said gentlemen, to the Geese Court<sup>2</sup> on Fleet Street.

In my observations, I have said that (as far as I know) there are two creatures living in water that do not copulate and yet bring forth young. These are the eels and the shrimp. Among the small flying creatures there are some that are all female and bring forth young, either laying eggs or bearing living creatures. The latter are called by a certain gentleman hermaphrodites. This statement of mine is not at all accepted by many people, and it is my wish that some interested person would support me on this point, so that the opponents will be silenced.

One can easily investigate the shrimp, because they are not without eggs. When the eggs on the organs with which they swim become blackish, they have once again small eggs in their body. They are partly placed in their belly, which the common man calls the head of the shrimp, and partly between the fish parts at the so-called head and against the hard rind that covers the fish. They also bear young twice a year.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is L.'s first letter to JURIN., a reply to JURIN's Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 (dated 22 February 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> As president of the Royal Society, ISAAC NEWTON in 1710 moved the Society's headquarters from Gresham College to Crane Court, a house built by fellow member CHRISTOPHER WREN on Fleet Street. L. mistakenly translates crane as ganse, or geese.

My friend in Rotterdam<sup>3</sup>, who has made inquiries about the parcel of Transactions<sup>4</sup>, has also gone to the well-known merchant trading to London, Mr. FURLEY<sup>5</sup>, who has undertaken to send for all captains sailing with sloops to and from London, and to inquire about the said parcel. I remain with much respect<sup>6</sup>.

Of you, honoured sir, the humble servant,

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This friend is probably ZEGER HOBUS, whom L. mentions in Letter L-572 of 21 April 1722 (see n. 11).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In his Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 (dated 22 February 1722 O.S.), JURIN writes that the members of the Royal Society "desire you will be pleased to accept the volume of *Philosophical Transactions*, which accompanies this letter". In L.'s reply, Letter L-572 of 21 April 1722, he notes that the parcel has not arrived and his efforts to track it down have been in vain. Both letters are in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The wealthy English-Dutch merchant BENJOHAN FURLY (1681-1738) resided in a large house at the Haringvliet in Rotterdam. He was the eldest son and successor of the Rotterdam merchant of English descent, BENJAMIN FURLY (1636–1714). In Rotterdam, FURLY senior had been the leader of the Quaker community. From 1665 onwards, he regularly organized discussions at his Rotterdam home, where natural philosophy was one of the items on the agenda. JOHN LOCKE, friend of both father and son FURLY, was one of the regular attendants at these meetings. BENJOHAN FURLY was one of entrepreneurs who, in the 1720s, facilitated the transport of large numbers of German and Swiss emigrants to Pennsylvania and other American colonies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> L.'s next letter to JURIN is Letter L-577 of 13 June 1722, a reply to JURIN's Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.). Both letters are to be found in this volume.

BRIEF Nr. L-575 26 MEI 1722

Geschreven door: JAMES JURIN.

Gericht aan ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

Manuscript: Een eigenhandig geschreven en ondertekende kopie van JURIN's brief

bevindt zich bij de Wellcome Collection, Londen, MS. 6143.2, 3 blz.

# GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Editions Rodopi), brief 27.

# SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief bedankt JAMES JURIN L. voor zijn twee laatste brieven. Hij vraagt L. zijn brieven in het Latijn te vertalen, omdat veel van de brieven die hij in het Nederlands had gestuurd tijdens het secretariaat van zijn voorganger, EDMOND HALLEY, onvertaald bleven. JURIN stelt dat hij deze eerdere brieven nu laat vertalen. Hij geeft aan L. het verzoek door van HANS SLOANE om pokkenpuistjes te onderzoeken op sporen van insecten.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

De datum is Nieuwe Stijl, elf dagen later dan de Oude Stijl-datum van 15 mei die JURIN in Londen gebruikte. De spelling en interpunctie zijn gemoderniseerd.

De vorige brief van JURIN aan L. is Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 (gedateerd 22 februari 1722 O.S.) in dit deel. De volgende brief van JURIN aan L. is Brief L-580 van 12 oktober 1722 (gedateerd 1 oktober 1722 O.S.) in dit deel.

Zie voor JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 in dit deel. Zie voor een volledige lijst van de briefwisseling tussen L. en JURIN Bijlage 13, *Alle de Brieven*, Dl. 20.

Genoemde HANS SLOANE (1660-1753) was van 1693 tot 1713 secretaris de Royal Society en van 1717 tot 1741 president ervan. Zie het Biog. Reg., *idem*, Dl. 12, blz. 406.

LETTER NO. L-575 26 MAY 1722

Written by: JAMES JURIN.

Addressed to: Antoni van Leeuwenhoek.

Manuscript: A signed autograph of JURIN's letter is to be found in London, Wellcome

Collection, MS.6143.2., 3 pages.

#### PUBLISHED IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Editions Rodopi), letter 27.

# SUMMARY:

In this letter, JAMES JURIN thanks L. for his two last letters. He asks L. to translate his letters into Latin because many of the letters he had sent in Dutch remained untranslated during the editorship of his predecessor, EDMOND HALLEY. JURIN states that he is now translating these earlier letters. He passes along the request of HANS SLOANE for L. to investigate smallpox pustules for traces of insects.

#### REMARKS:

The date is New Style, which was eleven days ahead of the Old Style date of 15 May used by JURIN in London. The spelling and punctuation have been modernized.

For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) and an overview of his exchange of letters with L., see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722, in this volume. For a complete list of the exchange of letters between them, see Appendix 13, *Collected Letters*, vol. 20.

LETTER No. L-575 26 MAY 1722

May 15th 17221

Honoured sir<sup>2</sup>, Crane Court, London

I have safely received your two last letters to the Royal Society of the 21st of April and the 1st of this Month<sup>3</sup>, with that you did me the honour to address to me of this last date, and for which great favour I return you my most humble thanks. The former of these I translated into English and read some days ago at a meeting of the Society<sup>4</sup>, who have ordered their thanks to be given you for the curious observations therein contained. That of the magnetic virtue acquired by the iron of your church cross, is agreeable to, and confirms, the observations formerly made in England and other parts upon the like subjects. I shall get your last letter translated with all convenient expedition; but here give me leave, good sir, to mention a thing to you, which I should by no means give you the trouble of, if it did not much more relate to your own honour and reputation, as well as the advantage of those that read your works as published in the Transactions than to any ease or convenience of my own.

When the Society did me the honour to elect me one of their secretaries some months ago, among other papers delivered up to me by my learned predecessor Dr. HALLEY, I met with several of your letters to the Royal Society, which had never been translated for their use<sup>5</sup>, and which consequently they had had no account of. This I suppose, had arisen from the difficulty of finding proper persons to translate them; for, though we have great numbers of persons here that understand the Dutch language yet the subjects you write upon are so curious and so much out of the way of the generality of mankind both on account of the matter itself and the terms made use of, that there are very few persons capable of translating them. It happens indeed, that I have some smattering of the Dutch language, having been formerly in Holland<sup>6</sup>, and likewise some little of the subjects treated of, which I have chiefly reaped from the perusal of your works, so that with the help of a dictionary<sup>7</sup> I can, though with a great deal of difficulty, collect your meaning. But what concerns me most, is neither the labour it costs me, nor the time I

JURIN's previous letter to L. is Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 (dated 22 February 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For JURIN, see Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722, note 1, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Letter L-572 of 21 April 1722 and Letter L-573 of 1 May 1722, both in this volume.

L.'s Letter L-572 of 21 April 1722 was read at the meeting of the Royal Society on 3 May 1722 O.S.; Royal Society, Journal Book Original, vol. 13, p. 193; Letter Book Original, 15.74. L.'s Letter L-573 of 1 May 1722 was read at the meeting of the Royal Society on 21 June 1722 O.S.; Royal Society, Journal Book Original, vol. 13, p. 208; Letter Book Original, 15.75.

During EDMOND HALLEY's second stint as editor of the *Philosophical Transactions*, from November 1713 to November 1721, he published only one letter by L. in volumes 29 and 30. During that time, L. addressed 17 letters to members of the Royal Society. Only four of them were read during a meeting and the final six remained untranslated until JURIN succeeded HALLEY as second secretary and *Philosophical Transactions* editor on 30 November 1721.

<sup>6</sup> In 1708-1709, while travelling as the tutor of MORDECHAI CARY (later bishop of Killala), JURIN studied medicine in Leiden and attended the lectures of HERMAN BOERHAAVE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The two popular Dutch-English dictionaries of the time were the 1675 second edition of HENRY HEXHAM'S A copious English and Netherdutch dictionary: comprehending the English language with the Low-Dutch explication and the 1691 first edition of WILLIAM SEWEL'S A new dictionary English and Dutch: wherein the words are rightly interpreted, and their various significations exactly noted.

LETTER No. L-575 26 MAY 1722

bestow in translating your letters. I should think them both exceedingly well employed, if I could be sure of always arriving at the true sense and meaning of your writings.

But the casual mistake of a single letter, the omission or misplacing of a word, and such like accidents which in an ordinary letter would be of no manner of consequence, yet in treating of a curious and uncommon subject may easily mislead a translator, especially one who is often obliged to have recourse to a dictionary as I am.

For this reason, I beg leave, sir, to propose to you, whether it be not the better and surer way for preventing all mistakes, to cause your letters to be translated into Latin before they are sent over hither. I observe this is always done afterwards, and it might be done at first with as little trouble. In this case a translator in Holland has very much the advantage of one in England because, besides his being perfectly master of the language your observations are writ in, he has the opportunity of consulting you upon any difficulty, and thereby is sure of taking your true sense. But this is humbly submitted to your own judgement and determination.

At a late meeting of the Society, our vice-president, Sr HANS SLOAN<sup>8</sup>, desired that I would request of you to examine into the truth of an observation formerly made by Dr. BONOMO<sup>9</sup>, and publish'd in the Phil. Transactions no 283 concerning insects found in the little bladders of people troubled with the itch<sup>10</sup>, as likewise that you will at your leisure, as opportunity may offer, be pleased to observe, whether any insects are to be found in the pustules of those that are ill of the smallpox, as some persons have imagined. The method of inoculating the smallpox, which has hitherto been practiced here with great success, except in one instance only, has occasioned peoples' turning their thoughts more particularly to the manner of propagation of that distemper, which is the cause of this enquiry.

As for what you mention in your letter to me about eels and shrimps, I very much question whether any of our virtuosi here are capable of corroborating what you have asserted, by any observations they have made upon those animals. I shall however make what enquiry I can for your satisfaction, and am, worthy sir,

Your most obliged humble servant

J. JURIN

<sup>8</sup> HANS SLOANE (1660-1753) was an Irish-Scots doctor, naturalist, and collector. He became a member of the Royal Society in 1685 and was its secretary from 1693 to 1713 and its president from 1717 to 1741. As editor of the *Philosophical Transactions*, volumes 19 to 28 from 1695 to 1713, SLOANE published 57 of L.'s letters, almost half of his total contribution to the *Philosophical Transactions*. This was the most prolific period of L.'s career.

GIOVANNI COSIMO BONOMO (1663-1696) was an Italian physician known for discovering the itch mite as the cause of the skin disease scabies. See the Biog. Reg., Collected Letters, vol. 9, p.427.

<sup>&</sup>quot;An Abstract of part of a Letter from Dr BONOMO to Signior REDI containing some Observations concerning the worms of Human bodies by RICHARD MEAD", *Philosophical Transactions* 23 (1703), no. 283, pp. 1296-99.

LETTER No. L-575 26 MAY 1722

P.S.

I am very sorry you have been put to so much trouble about the volume of Transactions, which was sent you by order of the Society. Our printer, Mr. INNYS<sup>11</sup>, who had the care of sending you all the preceding volumes, sent away this last together with my letter. What miscarriage has happened I know not. However, he has now dispatched another to you which I hope you will have received by that time this letter comes to your hands.

Some days ago, I met with an old acquaintance and friend of yours, Mr. JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE<sup>12</sup>, who, hearing I designed suddenly to do my self this honour of writing to you, desired me to present to you his most humble service<sup>13</sup>.

WILLIAM INNYS (before 1702-1756) was a productive and prosperous London printer and bookseller. From 1713 to 1736, he was involved in the publication of the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 28, no. 337, to vol. 39, no. 442.

JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE (c.1668–1723) translated several dozen of L.'s letters from 1700 to 1722. He died just a few months after L. See the Biog. Reg., *Collected Letters*, vol. 13, p. 389 and VERMIJ & PALM, "Chamberlayne".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> JURIN's next letter to L. is Letter L-580 of 12 October 1722 (dated 1 October 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

Gericht aan: de Royal Society.

Manuscript: Eigenhandige, ondertekende brief. Het manuscript bevindt zich te

Londen, Royal Society, Ms. 2111, Early Letters L4.79; 7 kwartobladzijden; 1 gravure. Aldaar ook een eigentijdse, Engelse vertaling door Dr. SPRENGELL in Early Letters L4.80; 5 foliobladzijden. De gravure is te

vinden in Letter Book Original 11.76.1, blz. 269.

# GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1722: 'Observations upon a Foetus, and the Parts of Generation of a Sheep. In a Letter to the Royal Society, from Mr. Leeuwenhoek, F. R. S. Translated from the Dutch by Dr. Sprengell, F. R. S.' *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 oktober 1722), nr. 373, blz. 151-56, 5 figuren. - Vrijwel volledige Engelse vertaling van de brief.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, blz. 145. - Nederlandse samenvatting.

#### SAMENVATTING:

L. observeert de voortplantingsorganen van een schaap en een foetus ervan. De waarnemingen uit September 1718 bevestigen dat de vrucht in de baarmoeder al heel vroeg een volledig wezen is en geen vormeloze massa.

# FIGUREN:

Bij deze brief horen vijf figuren. L. zond geen tekeningen, maar een gravure mee met deze brief. De figuren 1-5 zijn te vinden als Fig. I-V op de plaat bij no. 373 van de *Philosophical Transactions*.

# OPMERKINGEN:

De brief werd voorgelezen tijdens de vergadering van 8 november 1722 O.S. van de Royal Society; Royal Society, Journal Book Original, Dl. 13; Letter Book Original 15.76. Het laatste deel van de brief, na 'Dese waarneminge hebbe ik gedaan in de maandt september 1718', werd weggelaten toen deze werd gepubliceerd in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

De brief is in dezelfde hand geschreven als Brief L-568 van 24 januari 1721 in dit deel. Zie de Opmerkingen bij die brief. De spelling en interpunctie van de brieven hebben dezelfde kenmerken. Er zijn geen punten aan het einde van zinnen en geen hoofdletters aan het begin. Omwille van de leesbaarheid is de tekst opgedeeld in volledige zinnen, is de interpunctie gemoderniseerd en volgt de alinea-opstelling de tekst zoals afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

Voor de vertaler, CONRAD JOACHIM SPRENGELL (overl. 1740), zie Brief L-565 van 9 januari 1720, n. 1, in dit deel.

Delft in Holland den 13<sup>e</sup> juni<sup>1</sup> Junij 1722

Aan De Hoogh edele Heeren mijn Heeren die van de Koninklijke societeijt in Londen.

Hoogh edele Heeren

Ik hebbe gesien in de missive van de heere J. JURIN vanden 15 meij<sup>2</sup> dat mijne laaste ontdekkinge aangenaam waaren; ik neeme weder de vrijheijt dese volgende waarneminge ue Hoogh edele heere te laaten toekoomen. Seeker vleesslagter in onse stad hadde ontrent een uure gaans van ons stad in een weijde loopen, eenige lammen, die men tesselaars<sup>3</sup> noemt, sijnde altemaal weere lammen, weere lammen sijn die geene die gesneeden sijn, uijtgesondert een tesselaars schaap die hem sedert twee jaaren tweemaal jongen hadden voort gebragt. Dit schaap was hij van voornemens te slagten, om dat het seer vet was, want hij sneede uijt het lijf (soo bij seijde) agt en twintigh pondt vet, en tot dien eijnde bragt hij in een weijde digte bij onse stad daar hij verscheijde weere lammen hadde loopen, ende waar onder een ram was, die hij oordeele dat ontrent twintigh weeken out was.

Dit geseijde schaap bij de geseijde jongen ram koomende versamelde in bij weesen van de vlees slagter en alsoo de slagter gesien hadde dat de jonge ram daar te vooren al natuurde daar hij bij meende dat hij op de lammen al sprongh, soo nam hij de ram, en hij slagte de ram, en hij liet het geseijde schaap dat in sijn bij weesen versaamelt hadde geweest, nogh vijf daagen in de weijde loopen eer hij het schaap doode, en siende int oopenen van het schaap dat de baarmoeder, die de slagters de lik<sup>4</sup> noemen, wel vier maal in groote was uijtgeset als hij is wanneer geen ram bij het schaap en is geweest, soo bragt de slagter de baarmoeder met de soo genaamde eijernessten<sup>5</sup> bij mij met bijvoeginge dat ik mij verseekeren mogte dat het<sup>6</sup> nogh geen volkoomen vijf daagen geleeden was dat het schaap was versameldt geweest, ende dat het in de weijde daar het te vooren geloopen hadde, geen schaapen daar ontrent waaren, als de sijne en bij gevolg geen ram daar ontrent.

Het was nu ontrendt den avondt wanneer hij de baarmoeder tot mij bragt; ik leijde dan de baarmoeder in een aarde verglaasde schooteltje om de selve des anderen daagh te oopenen, en tragtende met de punt van een schaartje daar de baarmoeder haar begin neemt, in de baarmoeder te brengen, vondt ik de baarmoeder soo vast geslooten dat ik sulks niet en konde te weegh brengen, ende dus sneede ik een kleijn stukje met een schaartje van de baarmoeder, en daar op vloeijde uijt de selve een heldre vogt waar in lagh het kleijne schepsel met sijn omwinsels dat ik vast stelde in groote soude toegenomen hebben, om een lam te werden. Ik spreijde het geseijde schepseltje op de agter sijde van een posteleine<sup>7</sup> schooteltje en alsoo het omwinsel daar het schepseltje in lagh nogh met helder waater was beset soo maakten ik een kleine oopeningh en ik liet het waater afloopen met die gedagten dat ik het soo soude

De datum 13° juni en de handtekening aan het einde van de brief zijn in het handschrift van L. De rest is in dezelfde hand geschreven als Brief L-568 van 24 januari 1721 en vertoont dezelfde kenmerken. Zie de Opmerkingen hierboven.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zie Brief L-575 of 26 mei 1722 (gedateerd 15 mei 1722 O.S.), in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> tesselaars, naar het eiland Texel waar vanouds veel schapen werden gehouden.

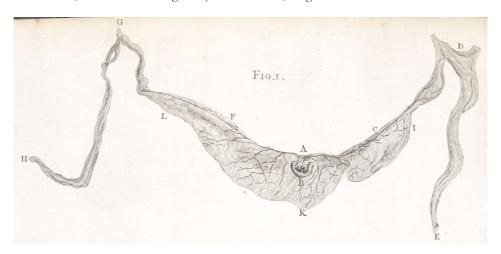
<sup>4</sup> lik, uterus; wellicht lokaal jargon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> eijernessten, eierstokken. Zie Brief L-545 [XXX] van 17 november 1716, Alle de Brieven, Dl. 18, voetnoot 15, voor een bespreking van het gebruik van L. van eyer-nest om de eierstok te verwijzen.

<sup>6</sup> In het hs. waarschijnlijk door anticipatie het schaap in plaats van het.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> posteleine, bijvorm van porceleinen.

laaten droogen, want ik konde mijn genoegen soo nat sijnde niet krijgen, om dat ik het geen vasste plaas geven kon soo langh als het soo nat was, al hoewel ik seer distinct de wervel beenderen, soo in den hals, ruggen, ende selfs de leeden inde staart konde sien, en welke schepsel een kortte staart hadde en daar bij beelde ik mij in dat ik de oogen sagh. Wanneer nu het schepseltje droog was en konde ik de wervelbeenderen op verre na soo distinct niet sien, als ik wel gedaan hadde doe het nat was, hoe wel de schilder8 die ik het hebbe laaten afteijkenen, soo een scharp gesigt heeft, dat hij de wervel beenderen heeft gesien, en aan geweesen. Mijn voornemen is ook geweest, wanneer het schepseltje hart droogh was, dat ik het alsdan aan dunne schijfjens soude snijden, om of ik door sulk doen, te beeter de binnen deelen door het vergroot glas soude koomen te sien, want de leden van het schepseltje sijn soo sagt, nadt sijnde, dat men [met]<sup>9</sup> de minsste aanraakinge de deeltjens komt te schenden. Ik hebbe het schebseltje<sup>10</sup> aan vijftien schibbetjens gesneeden, en die alle voor het ver grootglas geplaast, maar niet seekers daar van konnen seggen, want ik beelde mij in dat ik de darmtjens sagh, als ook de blaas, en ontrent het booven lijf koomende beelde ik mij in, het hert te sien, dogh het was voor mij met pleijsier te sien, hoe dat twee bloet vaaten in de herssenen nevens den anderen laagen ende hoe de selve haar in takken verspreijden. Ik heb het schepseltje soo het in sijn omwinsel lag, met desselfs omwinsel laaten afteijkenen als hier fijg 1<sup>11</sup> met AB. sijnde het schepseltje, ende met ACDEIK. ende AFGHLK. wert het omwinsel, of menbrane soo als ik het van een gespreijt hadde en droogh geworden was, hebbe laaten afteijkenen, waar in de bloet vaaten, soo veel als het oog bereijken konde sien, aangeweesen.



Nu soude de onkundige haar wel in beelden dat men de eijnde van de bloet vaaten quam te sien, maar neen, de bloet vaatjens en hebben geen eijnde, gelijk ik te meermaale hebbe geseidt, ende daar wij deselve niet en koomen te sien, is alleen datsi in soo een duntte toe nemen, dat het bloet aldaar geen roode couleur in ons oogh verwekt, ende de seer dunne bloet vaatjens daar de selve in de vaatjens koomen die het na het hert voeren niet en konnen door het groot glas vervolgen, dan in leevende schepsels daar men het bloet in siet loopen<sup>12</sup>. Eer de

<sup>8</sup> WILLEM VAN DER WILT. Zie Brief L-566 van 20 November 1720, noot 21, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *met* ontbreekt in het hs.

<sup>10</sup> Aldus in het hs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In de *Philosophical Transactions* gebruiken de figuurlabels Romeinse cijfers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Deze lange zin heeft een onhandige syntaxis die de betekenis onduidelijk maakt. Zie de Engelse vertaling, aant. 8.

vleesslagter mij de baarmoeder overgaf, drukten den selven de baarmoeder een weijnigh tussen de vingeren seggende tot mij, ik en kan daar niet in voelen en dit sal den selven beeld ik mij in, wel meermaalen gedaan hebben, waar door hij de vaaten die aan de baar moeder sijn vereenigt geweest, sal af gebrooken hebben, ende daarom sal het schepseltje met sijn omwinsel doen men de baarmoeder oopende, uijt de selve gevloeijt hebben.

Ik heb ook de dunte van de soo genaamde tuba fallophiana<sup>13</sup> laaten afteijkenen, als hier met fig 2. met ONMP wert aangewesen, sijnde P het ingebeelde monttje die het eij van het eijernest soude afsuijgen (na de oude dwaalinghe,) ende met M wert aangewesen, daar de geseijde tuba in dikte toeneemt, ende met QR het vlies dat ik van de baarmoeder hebbe afgesneeden. Nu hadde ik de soo genaamde eijernesten afgesneeden, en alsoo de gewaande eijeren ongemeen groot waaren die door de tuba fallophiana in de versaamelingh soude moeten door gevoert werden, soo hebbe ik met een kleijn passertje de lengte van het schepseltje genoomen, en bevonden wat deeltjens dat het op een verdeelde koopere lijnij quam te maaken<sup>14</sup>, en soo hebbe ik ook gedaan met de breette van het schepseltje, en hier van het middelgetal genoomen hebbe ik dat getal door malkanderen gemultipliceert en tot een tripel getal gebragt<sup>15</sup>. Vorders hebbe ik de lengte genomen van de axe van een groote verbeeldt eij aan het eijernest in sijn vliesen beslooten leggende. Dit uijtkoomende trijpel getal op het papier stellende, ende het eerste gevonden trijpel getal divideerende door het laaste getal bevond ik dat soo een gewaand eij seer na sevenmaal grooter was, sijnde een rouwe meetinge als het schepseltje dat nog geen volkoomen seven daagen in de baarmoeder in grootte was toegenomen. Ik liet dit schepseltje soo als het in sijn omwinsels lagh, aan twee medicijne doctooren, en aan een schirurgijn<sup>16</sup> sien, en ik gaf haar de gewaande eijernessten in handen die se wel besaagen, ende niet en konde sien waar eenigh eij van het eijernest was afgescheurt, met bijvoegingh hoe het moogelijk was dat soo een eij door de tuba vallophiana koude gevoert werden, waar op den eenen tot mij seijde het eijernest is al uijt de weereldt en ze schijnen een vleesagtige stoffe, en den anderen seijde, alles komt uijt een eij voort, en gelijk de laaste mij in voorgaande tijden te gemoet voerden dat de tuba vallophiana van geen schaap en geen lam

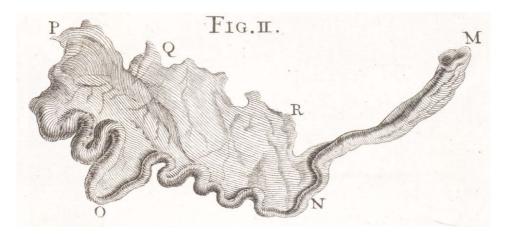
<sup>13</sup> Zie Brief L-545 [XXX] van 17 november 1716, idem, Dl. 18, noot 15, voor een bespreking van het gebruik van L. van de tuba fallopiana.

Lijnij is een uitzonderlijke spelling van het woord linie, dat L. ook in eerdere brieven voor 'liniaal' gebruikt. De instrumenten van L. zijn in 1745 in de boedel van L.'s dochter MARIA beschreven. Zie ZUIDERVAART en ANDERSON, 'Antony van Leeuwenhoek's microscopes and other scientific instruments: new information from the Delft archives'.

door ... gebragt, letterlijk: met elkaar vermenigvuldigd en er een getal tot de derde macht van gemaakt. Zie DIJKSTERHUIS, 'Wiskunde in Leeuwenhoeck's brieven', Alle de Brieven, Dl. 3, blz. 446.

De twee 'medicijne doctooren' zijn vermoedelijk ABRAHAM VAN BLEYSWIJK en HERMAN BOERHAAVE. De chirurg is niet geïdentificeerd. Een goede kandidaat is echter de Delftse chirurg JOHANNES HOOGVLIET (1690-1737), die in Brief L-590 van 4 september 1723 aan JAMES JURIN het overlijden van L. meldde, en daarbij verklaarde dat hij met L. 'een aantal jaren een zeer intieme vriendschap had gehad'. Op het sterfbed van L. ontving hij ook de laatste twee brieven van L. ter vertaling in het Latijn, Brief L-587 en Brief L-588 van augustus 1723. Alle drie brieven staan in dit deel. HOOGVLIET was een zoon van een gelijknamige vader (1653–1719), scheepsreder te Vlaardingen en later tafelhouder van de Bank van Lening te Delft, en CATHARINA PASPOORT (1655–1728). Hij was in 1717 gehuwd met ADRIANA DEN APPEL (1694–1741) en woonde op de Oude Langedijk te Delft. HOOGVLIET was een broer van de stichtelijke dichter ARNOLD HOOGVLIET (1687–1763) die ook verzen over L. heeft vervaardigd. Zoon NICOLAAS HOOGVLIET (1729–1777) zou na een carrière als predikant in 1770 hoogleraar theologie te Leiden worden.

was<sup>17</sup> nu deese tuba vallophiana, van een schaap dat op sijn minsste twee maal jongen hadde voort gebragt, en egter deselve niet dikker ofte wijder was, als dat van een lam. Hier sie ik nu meer als voor deesen dat hoe klaar mense haare dwaalingen aanwijst, sij van haar eerste grondtregels die se geleijdt hebben, niet en sijn af te brengen.



Ik hadde dese verhaalde eijernessten eenige daagen laaten liggen waardoor de selve wat veel waaren ingedroogt, en alsoo ik naderhand van voornemens was de selve te laaten afteijkenen, opdat men de groote van deese soo genaamde eijeren soude konnen sien. Fijg. 3. ABCDE. is het eijernest dat aan de sijde van dat deel van de baarmoeder hadde geleegen, waar in het voorgeseijde schepseltje hadde gelegen, sijnde DEA. dat deel waar aan het vereenigt is geweest, in welk geseijde eijernest, men siet een ronde verheeventheijdt, dat met eenige rondagtige deeltjens is beset, en welke groote rondigheijdt, een soo genaamt eij soude moeten sijn. Dit soo genoemde eijernest, is soo groot niet uijtgesedt als doen ik het van sijn deelen daar het aan vereenigt is geweest, was afsnijdende. Nu lag aan de eene sijde van dat selfde eijernest, nogh een groote rondigheijdt, dat men meede voor een eij aan het eijernest sal te boek gesteldt hebben, die ik sijne groote hebbe laaten afteijkenen als hier fijg: 4 tussen FG. werd aangeweesen, en op welk rond deel weeder eenige kleine rondagtige deeltjens meede was uijt puijlende. Men moet weeten dat de baarmoeder van de schaapen, door een vlies in twee bijsondere plaatsen is verdeeldt, soo dat in ider deel van de selve een jong liggende, malkanderen niet en koomen te raaken, en selfs niet met haare omwinsels.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> In de met *gelijk* beginnende bijzin zinspeelt L. blijkbaar op een eerdere demonstratie van de uterus van een schaap, waarbij de derde bezoeker hem had tegengesproken, dat de getoonde *tuba fallopiana* van een schaap of een lam was. Nu stond de herkomst van het preparaat onomstotelijk vast.







Nu lagh aan de andere sijde van de baarmoeder, meede een groot uijtpuijlende int bloote oog te beschouwen vleesagtig soo genaamde eij, welkers groote ik meede hebbe laaten afteijkenen, als hier fijg: 5 tussen HI. werd aangewesen en op welke deeltjen men meede een rond uijtpuijlende rondigheijt was siende, dat meede daar aan werd aangewesen, ende uijt welke kleijne uijtpuijlende rondigheeden weder eenige kleijne rondigheden waaren uijt puijlende die meede in de selve werden aangeweesen. Wanneer nu de rondagtige deelen die met fijg: 3. 4. ende 5. werden aangeweesen hebbe laaten droogen openbaarde in de selve veel meer van de uijtpuijlende ronde deeltjens die op de verbeelde eijeren te sien waaren, soo dat ik op een van deselve sestien rondde deeltjens telden waar van eenige de vogt was uijtgewaasemt, die dan met een puttje of holligheijt was voorsien. Vorders sneede ik deese gewaande eijeren met een seer scharp messje aan dunne schijven, en ik plaatste deselve voor vergroot glasen en ik ontdekte in de selve, bloetvaaten, ende ook vaatjens die ik voor geen bloet vaaten en konde aansien, ende onder anderen een soo groot datter wel een hairtje van ons hooft<sup>18</sup> soude konnen ingaan, ende veel van uijtnemende kleinheijdt, en na mijne menigvuldige waarneeminge soude ik mij inbeelden dat de soo genaamde eijeren, niet en bestonden als uijt vaatjens, ende dat de overvloedige stoffe, die de soo genaamde eijeren werden toegevoert, en geen circulacij in de vaatjens sijnde, (de bloet vaatjens aan een sijde gesteldt) deese uijtpuijlende deeltjens voor een waaterige vogt werden uijtgestooten, ende deese uijtgestootene vogt in eenige als in de andere sijnde, de huijt van deese rondagtige deelen openbarst ende alsoo een punt in de rondigheijt maakt. Dit eenige gesien hebbende, sullense vast gesteldt hebben dat dit een afgesogen eije is geweest waar uijt een schepsel moest voortkoomen. Als men nu besiet dat een schepseltje inde baarmoeder dat geen volkoomen vijf daagen in de selve heeft geleegen, soo daanigh is toegenoomen, dat men met het bloote oog de wervelbeenderen daar aan kan bekennen, ende soo ik de baarmoeder met het schepseltje in de selvige hadde bekoomen sonder dat men<sup>19</sup> het selvige hadde gedrukt, ik en twijfel niet, of ik soude veel leeden in het selvige ontdekt hebben. Met deese ende mijne voorgaande ontdekkinge, sal men immers nu niet meer seggen, dat de schepsels in de baarmoeders in den beginne een stuk ongefourmeert stuk vlees is. Dese waarneminge hebbe ik gedaan in de maandt september 1718<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Een hairtje van ons hooft is 60-80 μ

<sup>19</sup> men, te weten: de genoemde 'vleesslagter'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> In de*Philosophical Transactions* eindigt de brief hier.

Ik kan niet nalaaten een weijnigje uijt een brief bij te voegen van het geen de Heer G.J. LEIBNIZ uijt Hanover van den 25 augustij 1715<sup>21</sup> aan mij schrijft, dat het volgende is, dat uijt het hoogduijst mij dus vertaalt is<sup>22</sup>:

# Hoogh geerde Heer

de hoogagtinghste HERTOGH VAN WOLFENBUTTEL<sup>23</sup>, heeft mij eertijts geseijt dat mijne hoog geerde heer, sig mijn heeft te gemoet gevoert<sup>24</sup>, ende sulks doet mijn ook, te weeten, een persoon uijt Wolfenbuttel, tis mijn ook lief om die reeden dat ik daar uijt verstaa dat het mijn Heer, om uwe gesondtheijdt, tot nog toe wel staat.

Dit geeft mij occasije te schrijven dat een seer geleerde heer ende groote wetenschap besittende man tot Padua, namentlijk de heer VALISNIERIJ<sup>25</sup> niet toe staan wil, dat de gediertjens, de welke mijn heer in de Zaaden van de gedierte heeft sigbaar gemaakt, de geene sijn door de veranderinge en wasdom van de selve de groote gedierte selfs ontstaan maar tis apparenttelijk dat hij meent dat het gedierte selfs ontstaan of al reeds in den eije verborgen leijdt, ende dat het door de ontfangenisse maar opgequeekt wierd. Hij is van meeningh een werk over deese punt uijt te geeven, maar hij heeft ook reeds sijne gedagten hierontrendt in sijne gedrukte schriften geopenbaart<sup>26</sup>.

De opijnie van u mijn heer is heel waarschijnelijk, en heeft bij mij niet weijnigh plaats gevonden, twelk ik ook in mijne boekken theiodicca genoemt, hebbe laaten blijken, etc<sup>27</sup>.

De geseijde Heer LEIBNIZ schrijft aan mijn, uijt Hanover van den 29 october 1715<sup>28</sup>,

# Hoog geerde Heer

Ik hebbe uwe seer weerde missive van den 28 september en 21 october te regt ontfangen, etc<sup>29</sup>.

De voorwerpende tegensetsels van de heer VALISNIERIJ<sup>25</sup> hebbe ik aangeroert, niet om sijn agtbaarheijt halven, schoon hij in grooter agting staat, maar dewijlen sijne tegensetsels aan u mijn heer occasij geeven kunnen, alles goets te seggen etc.

22 In het hs. begint de nieuwe alinea na 'het volgende is'. L.'s antwoord op de hier bedoelde brief is Brief 317 [XVIII] L-520 van 28 september 1715, ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Brief 316 L-520 van 5 augustus 1715, Alle de Brieven, Dl. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> ANTON ÜLRICH VAN BRUNSWIJK-WOLFENBÜTTEL (1633-1714). Zijn bezoek aan L. vond waarschijnlijk plaats in 1709. Zie Brief 316 L-520 van 5 augustus 1715, ibidem.

Aan deze door L. geciteerde vertaling zou de uitdrukking 'sich etwas zu gemüte führen' ten grondslag kunnen liggen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> ANTONIO VALLISNIERI (1661–1730) was een Italiaanse arts en natuuronderzoeker.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> L. vat dezelfde passage samen in de eerste alinea van Brief 317 [XVIII] L-521 van 28 september 1715, idem, Dl. 17.

Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme et l'origine du mal (Theodicee-essays over de goedheid van God, de vrijheid van de mens en de oorsprong van het kwaad), voor het eerst gepubliceerd in 1710, was het enige boek van LEIBNIZ dat tijdens zijn leven werd uitgegeven.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Brief 318 L-522 van 29 oktober 1715, *ibidem*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> De kopiist heeft hier een fout gemaakt. LEIBNIZ schreef dat hij op 21 oktober de brief van L. van 28 september ontving. Zie Brief 318 L-522 van 29 oktober 1715, ibidem, p. 350.

Het is merkwaardigh, dat de Zaadgedierte van de groote en kleijne vis, in de groote weinigh van malkanderen differeren, ende dat ook de vleijsfibertiens in de ossen, die geen die in de muijs sijn, niet in dikte of sterkte, maar in lengte en menigte overtreffen, etc.

Hier heb ik een seer geleert man voor mij, en een geleert man tegen mij, dog ik en twijffel niet, of men sal eerlangh het gewaande eijernest gans verwerpen, hoe wel ik het om mijn seer hooge jaaren, niet beleeven sal.

Dus verre sijn mijne ontdekkinge die niet en hadde gedagt, dat ik uwe Hoogh Edele Heere, soude hebben laaten toekoomen, omdat ik in gedagten was datter een misnoegen tegen mij was opgevat om dat ik van verscheijde brieven, geen de minste antwoordt, hadde bekoomen<sup>30</sup>, en ook had seeker heer<sup>31</sup> mij laaten sien een transactions daar in geen van mijne gesondene brieven wierd gewagh gemaakt<sup>32</sup>. Ik blijf met groote agtingh Haare<sup>33</sup>

Hoogh Edele Heeren alderonderdanigsten dienaar

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK<sup>34</sup>.

JAMES JURIN had in de voorgaande maanden twee brieven aan L. geschreven. Misschien verwees L. dus naar de kloof van acht jaar tussen de brieven van JURIN en van RICHARD WALLER In de tussentijd diende EDMOND HALLEY als redacteur van de *Philosophical Transactions* en, zoals JURIN opmerkte in zijn Brief L-575 van 26 mei 1722 (gedateerd 15 mei 1722 O.S.), in dit deel, had HALLEY diverse brieven van L. niet laten vertalen, laat staan voor laten lezen aan de Royal Society, of uitgegeven in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

<sup>31</sup> Niet geïdentificeerd.

<sup>32</sup> De eerste twee nummers in deel 32 van de Philosophical Transactions (de nummers 364 en 365), geredigeerd door JURIN, bevatten geen enkele brief van L. De laatste vier nummers van dat deel bevatten echter alle minstens één.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> De volgende brief van L. aan de Royal Society is Brief L-578 of 7 juli 1722, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> De brief is eigenhandig door L. ondertekend.

LETTER No. L-576 13 JUNE 1722

Addressed to: The Royal Society.

Manuscript: Signed autograph letter. The manuscript is to be found in London, Royal

Society, MS 2111, Early Letters L4.79; 7 quarto pages; 1 engraving. There is also preserved a contemporary English translation by Dr. SPRENGELL in Early Letters L4.80; 5 pages. The engraving is to be found in Letter Book

Original 11.76.1, p. 269.

#### PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1722: "Observations upon a Foetus, and the Parts of Generation of a Sheep. In a Letter to the Royal Society, from Mr. Leeuwenhoek, F. R. S. Translated from the Dutch by Dr. Sprengell, F. R. S." *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 October 1722), no. 373, pp. 151-156, 5 figures. - Partial English translation of the letter.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 2e en 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 143. - Dutch summary.

#### SUMMARY:

L. observes the reproductive organs of a ewe and a fetus from it. The observations made in September 1718 confirm that very early in the womb, the fetus is a very complete being, and not a shapeless mass.

# FIGURES:

Five figures came with this letter. Instead of drawings, L. sent a single engraving accompanying this letter. The figures 1-5 are to be found as Fig. I-V on the Plate with no. 373 of *Philosophical Transactions*.

#### REMARKS:

The letter was read during the 8 November 1722 O.S. meeting of the Royal Society; Royal Society, Journal Book Original, vol. 13; Letter Book Original 15.76. The final part of the letter, after "I did these observations in the month of September 1718" was omitted when it was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

This letter is written in the same hand as Letter L-568 of 24 January 1721, in this volume. See the Remarks to that letter. The spelling and punctuation of both letters have the same characteristics. There are no periods at the end of sentences and no capital letters at the beginning. For the sake of readability, the translated text is divided into full sentences, the punctuation is modernized, and the paragraphing follows the text as printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

For the translator, CONRAD JOACHIM SPRENGELL (d. 1740), see Letter L-565 of 9 January 1720, n. 1, in this volume.

LETTER No. L-576 13 JUNE 1722

Delft in Holland, the 13th of June<sup>1</sup> June 1722

To the very noble gentlemen, the gentlemen Of the Royal Society in London.

Very noble sirs

In the letter of Mr. J. JURIN of the 15th of May<sup>2</sup>, I have seen that my most recent discoveries have pleased you. I take again the liberty to send to you, very noble sirs, the following observations. A certain butcher in our town had some lambs at pasture in a meadow about an hour's walk from our town. They are called Texel sheep<sup>3</sup>, all of them being young wethers, wethers being lambs that have been castrated, with the exception of one Texel sheep, which over two years had two times borne young for him. He planned to slaughter this sheep because it was very fat. As he said, he cut twenty-eight pounds of fat from the body. For this purpose, he brought it to a meadow near our town, where he grazed several young wethers, and among them was one ram, which he judged to be about twenty weeks of age.

When this said sheep and the young ram, just mentioned, came together, they mated in the presence of the butcher. Because the butcher observed that the young ram had already previously been ruttish - by which he meant that it had already mounted the young wethers - he took the ram and slaughtered the ram, and he let the said sheep, which had mated in his presence, for five more days at pasture in the meadow before he killed the sheep. He saw in opening up the sheep that the uterus, which butchers call the *lik*<sup>4</sup>, had expanded to as much as four times the size it has when no ram has been with the sheep. Therefore, the butcher brought the uterus with the so-called egg-nest<sup>5</sup> to me, adding that I could be certain that it had not yet been full five days since the sheep had mated, and that in the meadow, in which it had previously been at pasture, no sheep had been nearby except his own and, consequently, no ram had been there.

Now it was towards the evening when he brought the uterus to me. I then put the uterus into a little saucer of glazed earthenware in order to open it up next day. Then trying to insert the point of a pair of little scissors into the uterus where the uterus has its beginning, I found that the uterus was so tightly closed that I could not succeed in doing this. Therefore, I cut off a small piece from the uterus with a pair of little scissors. Thereupon, a clear fluid poured out of it, in which the little creature was lying with its wrappings, which, I was firmly convinced, would have grown in size to become a lamb. I spread the said little creature out on the reverse side of a little porcelain saucer, and because the wrapping, in which the creature was lying, was still filled with clear water, I made a small opening. I let the water drain away, with the idea that I would let it dry like that. For I could not handle it to my satisfaction while it was so wet because I could not keep it fixed in one spot as long as it was so wet. However, I could see the vertebrae very distinctly, in the neck as well as in the back,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The words "13th of June" (13e juni) and the signature at the end of the letter are in L.'s handwriting. The rest is written in the same hand as Letter L-568 of 24 January 1721 and shows the same characteristics. See the Remarks above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> L. wrote tesselaar, a breed of sheep from the island of Texel off the Dutch coast.

<sup>4</sup> lik, unknown Dutch word, perhaps local jargon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Letter L-545 [XXX] of 17 November 1716, *Collected Letters*, vol. 18, n. 11, for a discussion of L.'s use of "egg nest" (*eyer-nest*) to refer to the ovary.

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and even the segments in the tail, and this creature had a short tail. I thought moreover that I saw the eyes. Now when the little creature was dry, I could see the vertebrae far less distinctly than I had when it was wet. However, the painter<sup>6</sup>, whom I had draw it, is so sharp-sighted that he saw the vertebrae and depicted them. I also planned, when the little creature had become dry to the core, then to cut it into thin slices, just in case that by doing this I would better see the interior parts through the magnifying glass. For the limbs of the little creature are so soft when wet that with the slightest touch, one damages the little parts. I cut the creature into fifteen slivers and put all of them before the magnifying glass, but I have not been able to say anything about them with any certainty. For I thought that I saw the little intestines and also the bladder, and, going on to the upper part of the body, I thought that I saw the heart. But it was a pleasure for me to see how two blood vessels were lying next to one another in the brain, and how they spread out into branches. I had the little creature drawn, just as it was lying in its wrapping, with its wrapping, as is shown here in Fig. 17, with AB being the little creature. The wrapping, or membrane, is shown with ACDEIK and AFGHLK. When I spread it out and it became dry, I had it depicted, in which drawing the blood vessels are shown as far as the eye could reach them.



Now ignorant people might well think that one saw the ends of the blood vessels, but no, the little blood vessels don't have ends, as I have said several times. In the places where we do not see them, this is merely because they so increase as to thinness that the blood there does not call up the impression of a red colour in our eye, and because one cannot trace through the magnifying glass the very thin blood vessels, where they run into the little vessels that convey the blood to the heart, except in living creatures, in which one sees the blood running<sup>8</sup>. Before the butcher handed the uterus to me, he slightly pressed the uterus together

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> WILLEM VAN DER WILT. See Letter L-566 of 20 November 1720, n. 8, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In the *Philosophical Transactions*, the figure labels use Roman numerals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This sentence has some confusing syntax. SPRENGELL's loose translation in the *Philosophical Transactions*, no. 373, p. 152-3, is clearer: "Now some Persons might expect, that I should have look'd for the Extremities of the Blood-Vessels: but no, the Blood-Vessels have no end, as I have frequently said. Besides, they become gradually so exquisitely fine that the Blood which passes thro' them can exhibit no red Colour to our Eyes; so that there is no tracing them when entring into the vessels that return the blood back to the heart, except in living animals, where one my see the blood enter into the returning vessels."

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between his fingers, saying to me: I can feel nothing within this. I think that he may well have done this several times, through which he will have broken off the vessels that were attached to the uterus. That is why, when the uterus was opened, the little creature with its wrapping flowed out of it.

I also had the thin part of the so-called tuba fallopiana9 drawn, as is shown here in Fig. 2 with ONMP, P being the alleged little mouth that would suck the egg out of the eggnest (according to the ancient error). With M is shown where the said tuba increases as to thickness and with QR the membrane that I have cut off from the uterus. Now I had cut off the so-called egg-nests, and because the alleged eggs, which supposedly were to be conveyed through the tuba fallopiana at the mating, were exceptionally large, therefore with a pair of little compasses, I measured the length of the little creature and found how many units it took up on a copper graduated ruler<sup>10</sup>. I did the same with the creature's breadth and, taking the mean of them, I multiplied that number by itself and raised it to the third power. 11. Furthermore, I took the length of the axis of a large alleged egg that was lying in the egg-nest, enclosed in its membrane. Putting the triple number, which was the outcome of this, on paper, and dividing the triple number, found before, by the latter number, I found that such an alleged egg was very nearly seven times larger -- this being a rough estimate -- than the little creature that had grown in size during a period of not quite seven days in the uterus. I showed this creature, so as it was lying in its wrappings, to two doctors of medicine and a surgeon 12. I put into their hands the supposed egg-nests, at which they looked closely. They could not see a place where some egg would have been torn off from the egg-nest, adding: how was it possible that such an egg could be conveyed through the tuba fallopiana? Whereupon one of them said to me: [the theory of] the egg-nest has already had its day, and the egg-nests seem to be a flesh-like substance. The second one said: everything springs from an egg. Whereas in the past the latter person had argued against me that the tuba fallopiana derived neither from a sheep nor from a lamb, now this tuba fallopiana came from a sheep that had at least twice borne young, and yet it was not thicker or wider than the one from a lamb. Here I see, more so than previously, that however clearly one demonstrates to people their errors, they cannot be weaned from the first principles that they have posited.

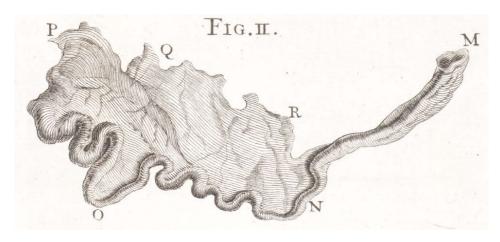
9 See Letter L-545 [XXX] of 17 November 1716, Collected Letters, vol. 18, n. 7, for a discussion of L.'s use of tuba fallopiana.

<sup>11</sup> See DIJKSTERHUIS, "Mathematics in Leeuwenhoeck's letters", Collected Letters, vol. 3, pp. 443-453.

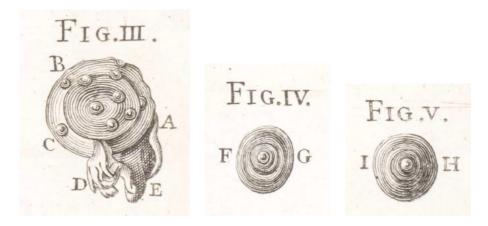
These instruments were among those inventoried in the estate of L.'s daughter MARIA in 1745.
See ZUIDERVAART and ANDERSON, "Antony van Leeuwenhoek's microscopes and other scientific instruments: new information from the Delft archives".

The two "doctors of medicine" are probably ABRAHAM VAN BLEYSWIJK and HERMAN BOERHAAVE. The surgeon has not been identified. A good candidate, however, is the Delft surgeon JOHANNES HOOGVLIET (1690-1746), who in Letter L-590 of 4 September 1723 reported L.'s death to JAMES JURIN, stating that he 'had possessed a very intimate friendship with L. for a number of years.' At L.'s deathbed, he also received L.'s last two letters for translation into Latin, Letter L-587 and Letter L-588 of August 1723. All three letters are found in this volume. HOOGVLIET was a son of an eponymous father (1653–1719), shipowner in Vlaardingen and later table holder (*tafelhouder*) of the Bank van Lening in Delft, and CATHARINA PASPOORT (1655–1728). He was married to ADRIANA DEN APPEL in 1717 and lived on the Oude Langedijk in Delft. HOOGVLIET was a brother of the edifying poet ARNOLD HOOGVLIET (1687–1763), who also wrote verses about LEEUWENHOEK. Son NICOLAAS HOOGVLIET (1729–1777) would become professor of theology in Leiden in 1770, after a career as a minister.

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I left these egg-nests, described above, lying for some days, through which they had dried rather considerably, because I planned to have them drawn afterwards, so that one would be able to see the size of these so-called eggs. Fig. 3 ABCDE is the egg-nest that was lying at the side of that part of the uterus, in which the little creature described earlier was lying. DEA is the part at which it was attached. In this said egg-nest one sees a round elevation which is covered by a few roundish particles, and which large elevation would have to be a so-called egg. This so-called egg-nest is not so much distended as when I was cutting it off from its parts, to which it was attached. Now there was lying on one side of that same egg-nest yet another large elevation, which will also have been labelled as an egg in the eggnest, the size of which I had drawn, as is shown here in Fig. 4 between FG; and on which round part in its turn some small particles were also protruding. One should realize that the uterus of a sheep is divided by a membrane into two separate chambers, so that when in each of its parts a young is lying, they do not touch one another, not even with their wrappings.



Now at the other side of the uterus there was also lying a large protruding so-called egg, which, when viewed with the naked eye, was flesh-like, the size of which I also had drawn, as is shown here in Fig. 5 between HI, and on which little part one also sees a protruding roundness, which is also shown there. Out of these small protruding roundish parts, some small roundish parts were in their turn protruding, which are also shown in that

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figure. Now when I left the roundish parts to dry, which are shown in Fig. 3, 4, and 5, many more of the protuberant round little parts, which were visible on the alleged eggs, were to be seen. On one of them, I counted sixteen round little parts, from some of which the moisture had evaporated, which then were provided with a little pit or cavity. Furthermore, I cut these alleged eggs into thin slices with a very sharp little knife, and I put them before magnifying glasses. I discovered blood vessels in them, as well as vessels that I could not regard as being blood vessels, among others, one so large that a little hair of our head 13 would go into it, and many exceptionally minute. Going by my frequent observations, I should be inclined to imagine that the so-called eggs consisted of nothing but little vessels. Because plentiful substances are carried unto the so-called eggs, and in the little vessels (leaving the blood vessels aside) no circulation is taking place, these protruding little parts are thrust outward as a watery fluid. This thrust-out fluid, present in several parts, makes the skin of these roundish parts burst open and so makes a point in the roundish shape. On having seen this, some people will be convinced that this was an egg, which had been removed by suction, and from which a creature would have to come forth. Now when one views the fact that a little creature in the uterus, which has been lying within that for less than five full days, has grown to such an extent that one can discern with the naked eye the vertebrae in it - and if I obtained the uterus with the little creature in it without its having been pressed together, I do not doubt that I would have discovered many parts of the body in it. With this and my earlier discoveries, people now will not anymore say that the creatures in the uterus are in the beginning an unformed piece of flesh. I did these observations in the month of September 171814.

I cannot refrain from adding to this a little part from a letter that Mr. G. J. LEIBNIZ from Hanover writes to me on the 25th of August 1715<sup>15</sup>, which is the following, which has been thus translated for me from the High German:

# Highly honoured Sir,

The Most Venerable DUKE OF WOLFENBÜTTEL<sup>16</sup> has formerly said to me that you, highly honoured sir, are thinking of me with sympathy and a person from Wolfenbüttel has also let me know the same; this is also agreeable to me for the reason that I understand from this that with regard to your health, dear sir, up to now all is well.

This gives me the opportunity to write that a very learned gentleman, a man who possesses great knowledge, living in Padua, to wit, Mr. VALLISNIERI<sup>17</sup>, does not want to admit that the little animals, which you, dear sir, have made visible in the seeds of animals, are the ones, through the changes and growth of which the large animals themselves come into being; but it is evident that he takes the view that the animal lies already hidden in the egg, and that it is merely furthered in its growth by the conception. He plans to publish a treatise on this issue, but he has also already published his thoughts with regard to this in his printed writings<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> In the *Philosophical Transactions*, the letter ends here.

<sup>13</sup> A hair of our head is 60-80 µ

<sup>15</sup> Letter 316 L-520 of 5 August 1715, Collected Letters, vol. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> ANTON ULRICH, duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1633-1714). His visit to L. occurred probably in 1709. See Letter 316 L-520 of 5 August 1715, ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> ANTONIO VALLISNIERI (1661–1730) was an Italian physician and naturalist.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> L. summarizes this same passage in the first paragraph of Letter 317 [XVIII] L-521 of 28 September 1715, idem, vol. 17.

LETTER No. L-576 13 JUNE 1722

Your view, dear sir, is most probable, and has found an easy acceptance with me, which I have also made clear in my book called *Théodicée*<sup>19</sup>, etc.

The said Mr. LEIBNIZ writes to me from Hanover, on the 29th of October 1715<sup>20</sup>:

Very honoured Sir,

I have duly received your highly valued letters of the 28th of September and the 21st of October<sup>21</sup>, etc.

I have mentioned the disapproving objections of Mr. VALLISNIERI<sup>17</sup>, not because of his reputation, although he is very highly esteemed, but because his objections may offer you, dear Sir, the opportunity to rectify everything, etc.

It is curious that the little animals in the seeds of large and small fishes differ but little as to size, and also that the little fibres of flesh in the cows do not surpass the ones which are present in the mouse as to thickness and strength, but only in length and numbers etc.

Here I have a very learned man for me, and a learned man against me, but I do not doubt that the supposed egg-nest will shortly be wholly rejected, although I shall not live to see it because of my very advanced age.

Thus far run my discoveries that I had not thought that I would send to you, very noble sirs, because I imagined that I had incurred some displeasure, because I have had no answer at all to several letters<sup>22</sup>. Moreover, a certain gentleman<sup>23</sup> showed a *Transactions* to me, in which none of the letters I sent are mentioned<sup>24</sup>. I remain with great respect<sup>25</sup>

Of you, very noble sirs the humblest servant

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK<sup>26</sup>.

Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme et l'origine du mal (Essays of theodicy on the goodness of God, the freedom of man and the origin of evil), first published in 1710, was the only book by LEIBNIZ published during his lifetime.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Letter 318 L-522 of 29 October 1715, ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The copyist makes a mistake here. LEIBNIZ wrote that he received L.'s letter of 28 September *on* 21 October. See Letter 318 L-522 of 29 October 1715, *ibidem*, p. 351.

JAMES JURIN had written two letters to L. in the previous months. Perhaps L. was thus referring to the eight-year gap between JURIN's letters and those from RICHARD WALLER. In between, EDMOND HALLEY served as editor of the *Philosophical Transactions* and, as JURIN noted in the second paragraph of his Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.), in this volume, HALLEY had not had several of L.'s letters translated, let alone read to the Royal Society or published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

<sup>23</sup> Not identified.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The first two numbers in volume 32 of the *Philosophical Transactions* (numbers 364 and 365), edited by JURIN, do not contain a single letter by L. However, the final four numbers of that volume all contain at least one.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> L.'s next letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-578 of 7 July 1722, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Signed by L. himself.

Gericht aan: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Eigenhandige, ondertekende brief. Het manuscript bevindt zich te

Londen, Royal Society, Early Letters L4.71; 4 kwartobladzijden. Aldaar ook een eigentijdse, Engelse vertaling door PHILIP HENRY ZOLLMANN in

Early Letters L4.72; 3 pages.

## GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), brief 30.

# SAMENVATTING:

L. reageert op JAMES JURIN's brief van 15 mei 1722. L. kent niemand in Delft die zijn brieven in het Latijn kan vertalen, zoals JURIN had gevraagd. L. betwijfelt of inentingen bescherming bieden tegen pokken, waarbij hij de ervaring van zijn dochter als voorbeeld gebruikt. L. belooft de vraag van HANS SLOANE te onderzoeken of er kleine diertjes in een schurftige huid zijn. L. beantwoordt de groeten van JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE. Hij voegt een naschrift toe over het versturen van toekomstige nummers van de *Philosophical Transactions* via zijn neef, een Rotterdamse koopman.

## OPMERKINGEN:

De brief is niet voorgelezen tijdens een vergadering van de Royal Society. In 1723 werd de vertaler, PHILIP HENRY (= PHILIPP HEINRICH) ZOLLMANN (C. 1680-1748), de eerste buitenlandse secretaris van de Royal Society.

Zie voor JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) en een overzicht van zijn briefwisseling met L. de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 in dit deel. Zie Bijlage 13, *Alle de Brieven*, Dl. 20, voor een volledige lijst van hun briefwisseling.

Delft in Holland den 13e juni 17221.

Aande Wel Edele Heere d'Heer J. JURIN<sup>2</sup>

Wel Edele Heere ik hebbe uwe Edele aangenamen vanden 5 Meij<sup>3</sup> laastleden wel ontfangen, ende daar in gesien dat mijn waarneminge die ik de Hoog Edele Heeren vande Coninklijke soci: hadde toe gesonden aangenaam waren. Versoeke dat mijn onderdanigheijt aan hare Hoog Edelheijt mag gepresenteert werden.

Ik kan niet na laten, tot uwe Wel Edele Heere te seggen dat ik eenige van mijne waarneminge hebbe getragt in handen te geven aan een seer bequaam man<sup>4</sup>, om deselvige vande duijtse<sup>5</sup> taal inde Latijnze<sup>6</sup> over te brengen maar alsoo geseijde Man ongemeen met groote pijn werde aangetast van graveel<sup>7</sup> soo dat hij in seve weken niet bequaam is geweest om wat te doen, en buijten die man en weet ik geen die de bequaamheijt heeft, om mijne brieven over te setten en moet ook tot uwe Wel Edele Heere seggen, dat ik eenige jaren geleden gepresenteert hebbe mijne brieven int Latijn te laten over sette als kennende doen een seer bequaam man, om de vertalinge te doen, maar sulks wierde als verworpen, seggende tot mij wij hebben wel luijden in ons land, die sulks konnen doen<sup>8</sup>.

Wat het in enten vande kinder pokjens<sup>9</sup>, aangaat, men moet het mij vergeven, ik hebbe geen agtinge voor het selvige om dat de pokjens die in geent werden, <sup>10</sup> daar uijt weijnige pokjens voort komen, ende dat maar op weijnige plaatsen van het lighaamje daar het bij mij vast staat dat de kinder pokjens werden veroorsaakt door een stremminge van het bloet, die op die tijd wat dikker is, als daar te vooren, waar door het inde kleijnste vaatjens stremt ende aldaar tot een sweringe uijt barsten.

Het bloet nu mede stremmende inde uiterste dunne vaatjens daar het circuleert, gestopt sijnde moet de doot daar op volgen soo het Hert soo een starke beweginge als dan niet te weeg brengt, dat wij een starke koors noemen, dat de bloet vaatiens als dan wijder werden uijtgerekt waar door het bloet weder een volkome beweginge geniet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De vorige brief van L. aan JURIN is Brief L-574 van 1 mei 1722, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zie voor JURIN zijn brief waarin hij zichzelf voorstelt aan L., de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 (gedateerd 22 februari 1722 O.S.) in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Zie Brief L-575 van 26 mei 1722 (gedateerd 15 mei 1722 O.S.). L. heeft de datum verkeerd onthouden. Vergelijk zijn naschrift hieronder.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Waarschijnlijk HENDRICK VAN RIJN. Zie het Voorwoord, *Alle de Brieven*, Dl. 18, aant. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> duitse, Nederlandse.

<sup>6</sup> In zijn brief vraagt JURIN L. om zijn brieven in het Latijn te laten vertalen voordat hij ze naar de Royal Society stuurde.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> graveel, nier- of blaassteen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Zie Brief L-505 van 19 juli 1714, idem, Dl. 20, waarin WALLER schrijft, "For the future you need not give yourself the trouble of having your letters translated into Latin, but may express yourself as formerly in your own language there being several gentlemen of the Society who will think no trouble to translate Mr. LEEUWENHOEK's letters."

<sup>9</sup> kinder pokjens, waterpokken.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> In de brief genoemd in noot 8 vroeg JURIN L. om insecten in pokkenpuistjes te zoeken en hij prees de nieuwe pokkeninentingen die hij in Engeland aan het ontwikkelen was. JURIN paste variolatie toe, een controversiële en minder succesvolle voorloper van de vaccinaties die later in de eeuw door EDWARD JENNER werden ontwikkeld. Dit betreft echter de pokken, niet de waterpokken.

Maar mijn dogter die bejaart is<sup>11</sup>, heeft in haar jonkheijt de maselen gehad, en daar na weijnig pokjens, ende eenige jaren daar na meerder pokjens<sup>12</sup>, en nu verschrikt ze als ze een kint met pokjens siet. Nu is ontrent vier jaar geleden dat mijn dogter plaijsier hadde om met een moij jongetie van ontrent 5 jaren bij haar te voor eenige uren te hebben.

Dit jongetie de pokjens krijgende, die seer veel waren, ende nu de pokjens af gevallen sijnde, komt onverwagt in oog van mijn dogter, die daar van soo ontstelt, en in een siekte vervalt en het geheele lighaam beset is, met roode puijsjens, en extra ordinarie groote pijn het geheele lighaam over, waar uijt men een besluijt maakte, dat het lighaam vol pokjens soude wesen waar uijt sij in presentie van de doctor besloot, dat soo sij geen harde koors en kreeg, ende daar bij was sweetende, dat het dan met haar gedaan was.

Hier op kreeg ze een seer harde koors met sweet, ende dus was ze in vierentwintig uren van alle de roode plekjens en puijsjens ontlast, uijt gesondert, dat ze maar drie à vier seer kleijne pokjens in haar aangesigt hadde, ende 5. à 6. op haar armen die tot sweeren quamen.

Dit soo sijnde wij konnen wij staat maken op de in entinge van de pokjens, maar soo de in entinge van de pokjens het geheele lighaam over quam, ende daar quam een seer harde koors, waar door het bloet, soo stark wierd voort gestooten, dat niet tegenstaande de stremminge van het bloet, de bloet vaatjens het geheele lighaam over soo wierden uijt gerekt dat het bloet sijn loop bleef behouden, soo soude een in entinge wel wesen, om dat de bloet vaatiens door gaans wijder waren geworden, waar door de circulatie van het bloet gemakkelijker soude geschieden, maar soo danige in entinge soude men moeten verwerpen, om dat ze niet als met pericul van het leven soude geschieden, daar<sup>13</sup> nu door de in entinge het bloet maar op weijnige plaatze stremt.

Dog dit is alleen gesegt, tussen UE ende mij, om dat ik mij hier in steek in saaken, die de doctoren raken, ende die ik mij niet versta.

Het versoek vande Edele Heere HANS SLOON<sup>14</sup>, om de vogt vande jeukinge ofte schurft, namentlijk offer geen diertiens in en sijn, sal ik bij gelegenheijt, om een schurftige jongen, uijt ons weeshuijs, soo daar een is tot mij laten komen, want het gaan is met mij gedaan, wegens de swakheijt van mijn beenen, ende de uijtkomst daar van laten toekomen.

Al hoe wel ik geen gedagten hebbe, datter diertiens in sullen sijn die den gemeenen man daar in wil hebben, en soo seggen ook eenige dat in pestsiekte, de lugt met diertiens is, als ook inde pokjens als die sweeren.

De ongehuwde dochter van L. MARIA (1656-1745), die bij haar vader woonde, was 65 jaar toen L. deze brief schreef.

<sup>12</sup> In het hs. pokjiens.

<sup>13</sup> daar, terwijl.

JURIN gaat hier in op het eerder gedane verzoek van SLOANE dat L. op zoek gaat naar insecten in een schurftige huid. Zie Brief L-575 van 26 mei 1722, in dit deel. HANS SLOANE (1660-1753) was een Iers-Schotse arts, natuuronderzoeker en verzamelaar. Hij werd lid van de Royal Society in 1685 en was secretaris van 1693 tot 1713 en president van 1717 tot 1741. Als redacteur van de *Philosophical Transactions*, volumes 19 tot 28 van 1695 tot 1713 publiceerde SLOANE 57 brieven van L., bijna de helft van zijn totale bijdrage aan de *Philosophical Transactions*. Dat was de meest productieve periode uit L.'s carrière. Zie het Biog. Reg., idem, Dl. 12, blz. 406.

Mijn gedienstig versoek is of UEd: de Heer CAMBERLAIJNE<sup>15</sup> van mijnent wegen gelieft te groeten, en ik ben dankbaar dat die Heer mij gedagtig is.

Ik sal met veel agtinge blijven<sup>16</sup>.

Uwe Edele Heere Onderdanige Dienaar.

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

Tis mij leet dat ik tot UE. Wel Edele Heere moet seggen, dat het morgen veertien dagen geleden is, dat ik met de post uwe Edele schrijvens vanden 15 Meij laastleden hebbe ontfangen, en hebbe geen transactions vernomen. Soo men aan mij ijets mogte senden soo versoeke ik, dat het mag gesonden werden aan mijn neef<sup>17</sup> de Heer ARNOUT VANDEN BERG Coopman te Rotterdam<sup>18</sup>, die in London seer wel bekent is, en dat men de naam vande schipper mag weten met wie dat het gesonden werd.

Soo ik hare Hoog Edele Heeren die vande Coninklijke Societeit eenige dienst kan doen met een vande twee stukjens van het wonderlijk ijser van het kruijs vanden toorn<sup>19</sup> die ik nog hebbe ik salze Hare Hoog Edele Heeren laten toekomen<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Zie voor JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE Brief L-575 of 26 mei 1722 (gedateerd 15 mei 1722 O.S.), aant. 11, in dit deel, en het Biog. Reg., *idem*, Dl. 13, blz. 388. Zie bijlage 12, *idem*, Dl. 20, voor een volledige lijst van de correspondentie tussen CHAMBERLAYNE en L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> De volgende brief van L. aan JURIN is Brief L-579 van 7 juli 1722, in dit deel.

<sup>17</sup> neef, bloedverwant, familielid. In Brief L-538 [XXVII] van 17 september 1716 sprak hij de arts ABRAHAM VAN BLEYSWIJK aan als 'Myn Heer en Neef'. In Brief L-556 [XL] van 19 augustus 1717 richtte hij zich met dezelfde woorden tot advocaat ADRIAAN SWALMIUS. Beide brieven zijn te vinden in idem, Dl. 18. VAN BLEYSWIJK en SWALMIUS waren dus verre verwanten van L.

ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH (ook BERG en BERGH, 1669-1733) kwam uit een rijke regentenfamilie in Rotterdam. Hij was de kleinzoon van JOHAN JACOBS VAN DEN BERCH, de broer van L.'s moeder MARGRIETKE JACOBS VAN DEN BERCH. Van 1711 tot 1733 zat hij in de vroedschap van Rotterdam. Hij was luitenant, kapitein en ten slotte kolonel van de schutterij en diende als schepen en weesmeester, naast vele andere ambten. VAN DEN BERCH was ook heer van Ameyde, Herlaar en Tienhoven. In Brief L-572 van 21 april 1722, in dit deel, doet L. verslag van pogingen om via een andere vriend in Rotterdam pakjes te ontvangen. Zie hierna Brief L-594 van 20 oktober 1723 van VAN DEN BERCH aan de Royal Society en het antwoord van JAMES JURIN, Brief L-597 van 29 november 1723 (gedateerd 18 november 1723 O.S.), beide in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Zie Brief L-572 van 21 April 1722, in dit deel, waarin L. ijzer beschrijft van het torenkruis van de Nieuwe Kerk van Delft, welk ijzer gedurende tweehonderd jaar magnetisch was geworden.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Het is niet bekend of L. deze stukken ijzer ooit naar Londen heeft opgestuurd.

LETTER NO. L-577 13 JUNE 1722

*Addressed to*: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Signed autograph letter. The manuscript is to be found in London, Royal

Society, Early Letters L4.71; 4 quarto pages. There is also preserved a contemporary English translation of the letter by PHILIP HENRY

ZOLLMANN in Early Letters L4.72; 3 pages.

### PUBLISHED IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), letter 30.

## SUMMARY:

L. responds to JAMES JURIN's letter of 15 May 1722. No one whom L. knows in Delft can translate L.'s letters to Latin, as JURIN had requested. L. doubts that inoculations protect against smallpox, using his daughter's experience as an example. L. promises to investigate HANS SLOANE's question about whether there are little animals in scabrous skin. L. returns the greetings of JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE. He adds a postscript about sending future numbers of *Philosophical Transactions* via his nephew, a Rotterdam merchant.

### REMARKS:

The letter was not read during a meeting of the Royal Society. The translation here differs slightly from ZOLLMANN's, which was the one used by RUSNOCK. In 1723, PHILIP HENRY (=PHILIPP HEINRICH) ZOLLMANN (C. 1680-1748), became the Royal Society's first foreign secretary.

For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) and an overview of his correspondence with L., see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 in this volume. See Appendix 13, *Collected Letters*, vol. 20, for a complete list of their correspondence.

LETTER No. L-577 13 JUNE 1722

Delft in Holland, the 13th of June 1722<sup>1</sup>

To the honoured gentleman the gentleman J. JURIN<sup>2</sup>

Honoured sir, I have duly received the pleasant letter of Your Honour of the 5th of May last<sup>3</sup>, and seen in it that my observations, which I had sent to the very noble gentlemen of the Royal Society, have pleased them. I beg that my humble respects may be offered to the very noble gentlemen.

I cannot refrain from saying to you, honoured sir, that I have attempted to put some of my observations into the hands of a most capable man<sup>4</sup>, in order that he would translate them from the Dutch language into Latin<sup>5</sup>. But because the person just mentioned has been afflicted with an exceptionally severe pain, due to gravel, for seven weeks, he has not been capable of doing anything. Apart from this person, I do not know anybody who has the ability to translate my letters. I must also say to you, honoured sir, that some years ago I suggested that my letters would be translated into Latin, because at that time I was acquainted with a most capable man to make the translation, but this was, so to say, rejected. It was said to me: we have in our country, to be sure, people who can do this<sup>6</sup>.

As to the inoculation of chickenpox<sup>7</sup>, I must be excused, but I have no high opinion of it, because out of the little pocks, which are inoculated, few pocks come forth, and merely on a few places of the little body at that. However, I am convinced that chickenpox is caused only by a coagulation of the blood, which at that moment is thicker than before, through which it coagulates in the smallest vessels and there breaks out into a boil.

Now when the blood also coagulates in the outermost and thin little vessels, in which it circulates, and then comes to a standstill, death must follow unless the heart brings about such a strong movement, which we call a high fever, that then the little vessels are distended to a greater width, through which the blood again can flow without hindrance.

However, my daughter, who is aged<sup>8</sup>, in her youth had the measles, and after that some few pocks, and some years later some more little pocks, and now she is terrified when she sees a child with pocks. It is now about four years ago that my daughter took pleasure in having once more a beautiful little boy about five years of age with her for some hours.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> L.'s previous letter to JURIN is Letter L-574 of 1 May 1722, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See for JURIN the letter with which he introduced himself to L., the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 (dated 22 February 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.). L. misremembered the date. Compare his postscript below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Probably HENDRICK VAN RIJN. See the Preface, Collected Letters, vol. 18, n. 2.

In his letter, JURIN asks L. to have his letters translated into Latin before sending them to the Royal Society.

<sup>6</sup> See Letter L-505 of 19 July 1714, idem, vol. 20, in which WALLER writes, "For the future you need not give yourself the trouble of having your letters translated into Latin but may express yourself as formerly in your own language there being several gentlemen of the Society who will think no trouble to translate Mr. LEEUWENHOEK's letters."

In the same letter, JURIN asks L. to look for insects in smallpox (!) pustules and he praises the new smallpox inoculations he was developing in England. JURIN practiced variolation, a controversial and less-successful precursor to the vaccinations developed later in the century by EDWARD JENNER.

<sup>8</sup> L.'s unmarried daughter MARIA (1656-1745), who lived with her father, was 65 years old when L. wrote this letter.

LETTER NO. L-577 13 JUNE 1722

This little boy, falling ill with the pocks, which were very numerous, and the pocks now having fallen off, comes unexpectedly under the eyes of my daughter, who is so much disturbed by this that she falls ill. Her entire body is covered with red pustules, and she feels an extraordinarily severe pain all over her body. From this, it was concluded that the body would be full of pocks, from which she, in the presence of the physician, concluded that if she would not get a high fever and moreover would be sweating, that then she would be done for

Hereupon she got a very high fever with sweat, and through this she was rid of all the red spots and pustules within twenty-four hours, except that she had no more than three to four very small pocks on her face, and 5 to 6 on her arms, which came to fester.

This being so, how can we put our trust in the inoculation of the pocks? However, if the inoculation would extend to the entire body, and then a very high fever would ensue, through which the blood was thrust forward so strongly that, notwithstanding the coagulation of the blood, the little blood vessels throughout the body would be distended so far that the blood maintained its flow, then such an inoculation would be beneficial because the blood vessels for the greater part would have widened, through which the circulation of the blood would come about more easily. But such an inoculation should be rejected, because it could only take place with peril of one's life, whereas now through the inoculation, the blood coagulates in only a few places.

Yet this is said only between Your Honour and me, because here I meddle with matters that are the concern of the doctors, and of which I have no expert knowledge.

The request of the honoured gentleman HANS SLOANE<sup>9</sup> on the moisture of the itch, or scabies, to wit, whether any little animals are present in it: when the occasion arises, I shall send for a scabrous boy of our orphanage, if one is to be found there, and send the results, for walking is a thing of the past for me, owing to the weakness of my legs.

However, I do not think that little animals will be present in it, as the common man assumes that there are. And likewise, some people also say that during a pestilence there are little animals in the air, as well as in the little pocks when they fester.

It is my humble request that Your Honour will be so kind as to give my regards to Mr. CHAMBERLAYNE<sup>10</sup>, and I am grateful that that gentleman remembers me.

I shall remain, with much respect<sup>11</sup>,

Of you, honoured sir the humble servant.

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> In the same letter, JURIN passed along SLOANE's request that L. look for insects in scabrous skin. HANS SLOANE (1660-1753) was from 1693 to 1713 secretary of the Royal Society and from 1717 to 1741 its president. See the Biog. Reg., *idem*, vol. 12, p. 407.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> For JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE, see Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.), n. 11, in this volume, and the Biog. Reg., *idem*, vol. 13, p. 389. See Appendix 12, *idem*, vol. 20, for a complete list of the correspondence between CHAMBERLAYNE and L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> L.'s next letter to JURIN is Letter L-579 of 7 July 1722, in this volume.

LETTER NO. L-577 13 JUNE 1722

I regret that I must say to you, honoured sir, that tomorrow it will be fourteen days that I have received by post your letter of the fifteenth of May past, and I have not seen any Transactions. If people want to send something to me, I beg that it may be sent to my kinsman<sup>12</sup>, Mr. ARNOUT VANDEN BERG<sup>13</sup>, merchant in Rotterdam, who is very well known in London, and that notice is given of the name of the shipmaster with whom it is being sent.

If I can oblige the very noble gentlemen of the Royal Society with one of the two pieces of the curious iron of the cross on the tower<sup>14</sup>, which I still have, I shall send it to the very noble gentlemen<sup>15</sup>.

L. writes neef, literally, nephew or cousin, a term that he had used before. In Letter L-538 [XXVII] of 17 September 1716, he addresses the medical doctor ABRAHAM VAN BLEYSWIJK as Myn Heer en Neef. In Letter L-556 [XL] of 19 August 1717, he addresses the attorney ADRIAAN SWALMIUS with the same phrase. Both letters are to be found in idem, vol. 18. VAN BLEYSWIJK and SWALMIUS were distant relatives of L.

ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH (1669-1733; also, BERG and BERGH) came from a wealthy regent family in Rotterdam. He was the grandson of JOHAN JACOBS VAN DEN BERCH, who was the brother of L.'s mother MARGRIETKE JACOBS VAN DEN BERCH. He served on the city council (vroedschap) of Rotterdam from 1711 until his death. He was lieutenant, captain and finally colonel of the militia and served as a magistrate and an orphan master, among many other offices. VAN DEN BERCH was also lord of Ameyde, Herlaar and Tienhoven. In Letter L-572 of 21 April 1722, in this volume, L. reports on unsuccessfully trying to get parcels through a different friend in Rotterdam. See VAN DEN BERCH's Letter L-594 of 20 October 1723 to the Royal Society and JAMES JURIN'S reply, Letter L-597 of 29 November 1723 (dated 18 November 1723 O.S.), both in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See Letter L-572 of 21 April 1722, in this volume, in which L. describes iron from a cross from the tower of the Delft Nieuwe Kerk that had become magnetic during two centuries.

<sup>15</sup> It is not known whether L. ever sent these pieces of iron to London.

Gericht aan: de Royal Society.

Manuscript: Eigenhandige, ondertekende brief. Het manuscript bevindt zich bij de

Royal Society, Londen, Early Letters L4.81; 4 kwartobladzijden, 1 gravure met 3 figuren. Aldaar ook een kopie van de brief in Letter Book Original 15.77, blz. 270, 8 bladzijden. De meegestuurde gravure is te vinden in Letter Book Original 15.77.1, blz. 273. Voor een eigentijdse Engelse vertaling van de brief door JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE, zie: Early Letters

L4.82, 7 bladzijden.

## GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1722: 'Observations upon the Callus of the Hands and Feet, by the Same Curious Gentleman. Translated by John Chamberlayne, Esq.' *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 oktober 1722), no. 373, blz. 156-161, 3 figuren. – Vrijwel volledige Engelse vertaling van de brief.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE (1924): De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 145. - Nederlandse samenvatting.

### SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief bedankt L. de Royal Society voor het verzenden van de nummers van de *Philosophical Transactions*. Hij onderzoekt eelt van zijn eigen voet en van de handen van een metselaar, een timmerman en een boer. Hij concludeert dat al het voedsel dat met de hand wordt bereid, ook kleine stukjes huid bevat.

## FIGUREN:

Er zijn geen originele tekeningen. De brief werd geleverd met drie gegraveerde figuren. De figuren 1-3 zijn te vinden als Fig. VI-VIII op de plaat bij nr. 373 van de *Philosophical Transactions*.

## OPMERKINGEN:

De vertaling werd voorgelezen tijdens de vergadering van de Royal Society op 15 november 1722 (O.S.). Zie Royal Society, Journal Book Original, Dl. 13, blz. 224, inclusief een korte samenvatting, eindigend met 'Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was ordered thanks for his curious observations.'

Delft in Holland den 7e julij 17221

Aan de Hoog Edele Heeren Mijn Heeren die vande Koninklijke Societeit

Desen is dienende om uwe Hoog Edele ten hoogsten te bedanken voor het paket vande Philosophische transactien bestande in n° 351. tot n° 363. a.° 1719² gedrukt, die mij den 23 juni sijn ter hand gekomen die uwe Hoog Edele Heeren mij, dog onverdient, hebt gelieven te vereeren, als mede om dese nevens gaande waarneminge uwe Hoog Edele Heeren te laten toe komen.

Ik hebbe te meermalen mijne gedagten laten gaan op de dikke huijt van onse handen en voeten, die wij eelt noemen, ende alsoo ik inde maant van Septemb. 1719. ik eenige pijn op mijn bedde leggende die mijn slaap hinderde, aan de zijde van mijn voet hadde ter plaatze daar de kleine voet vinger, sijn begin neemt, en alsoo ik door gaans in twee paar kousen ben slapende, des morgens mijn kousen liet uijt trekken, om het, eelt, dat, ik oordeelde daar meer als gemeen sittende, het geene was dat mij de pijn verwekte, liet ik mijn bediende<sup>3</sup> met de nagels vande hand en [een]<sup>4</sup> mesje de eelt af trekken, en het selvige soude laten vallen, op een blaeuw papier daar mijn voet op stond, dat ik oordeelde nu dikker te moeten sijn als ik voor desen hadde vernomen, om dat dat deel vande voet van het eelt in verscheijde maanden niet was gereijnigt.

Dit eelt lag met schilfertjens op malkanderen, en het grooste stukje was soo breet, als een kleijne nagel vande Hand. De schilfertjens vande selve beschoude ik door het vergroot glas en ik en konde mijn selven niet voldoen, om datze soo irregulier op malkanderen lagen.

Vorders nam ik een stukje eelt, en dat plaaste ik op een schoon glas, en ik maakte het selve met schoon regenwater nat, en ik divideerde het met een stukje van een schagt sedig van een, en ik sag met verwondering in hoe menige deelen een stukje eelt, ende dat met weijnig moeijte sig liet van een scheijden, even als of deselve noijt aan den anderen en hadden vereenigt geweest.

Nader hand nam ik twee à drie vande geseijde deeltjens, die veele van haar maaksels waren als wevers spoeltjens sijnde int midden breet<sup>5</sup>, ende aande eijnden wat spits toe loopende en veele hadden int midden soo een sneetje, als de opperste huijt vande vrugten, ofte onse opperste huijtje, ende meest alle irregulier, die ik sag dat vrij dik waren na haar groote. Dierhalven<sup>6</sup> nam ik twee à. drie vande geseijde deeltjens, ende ik plaaste deselve op suijver glas, en ik bragt bij deselve een grof sand<sup>7</sup> groote water, en ik divideerde deselve na mijn vermogen van een, ende dese gedivideerde deeltjens, door het vergroot glas besiende stond ik als

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De vorige brief van L. aan de Royal Society is Brief L-576 van 13 juni 1722, in dit deel.

Dit zijn de 13 nummers in deel 30 van de *Philosophical Transactions*. Omdat EDMOND HALLEY daarvan de redacteur was, bevatten ze geen brieven van L., ook al stuurde hij in die periode een tiental brieven naar de Royal Society. Zoals JAMES JURIN opmerkt in Brief L-575 van 26 mei 1722 (gedateerd 15 mei 1722 O.S.), in dit deel, liet HALLEY deze brieven niet vertalen. Ze zijn daarom ook nimmer voorgelezen tijdens een vergadering van de Royal Society. In 1718 gaf L. ze allen uit in zijn *Send-Brieven*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Waarschijnlijk het dienstmeisje van de familie, JOSINA VAN DER SPRENKEL. Zie Brief L-569 van 11 April 1721, noot 8, in dit deel.

<sup>4</sup> een ontbreekt in het hs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In het hs. *breets* i.p.v. *breet*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Hs.: groote, dierhalven.

<sup>7</sup> een grof sand is ongeveer 0,66 mm<sup>3</sup>.

verbaast, dat ik soo veel deeltjens sag leggen, die uijtnemende dun waren, ende vande selvige figuur waren, als ik hier vooren hebbe geseijt.

Vorders nam ik vande dikste eelt schibbens, sijnde niet wel half soo dik als de rugge van een kleijn mes en ik snede deselve met een seer scharp raijsoir<sup>8</sup> aan soo danige dunne schijfjens als mij doenlijk was en ik plaaste deselve op een suijver glas, met die in sigte om dus de op een leggende seer dunne deeltiens te ontdekken, ende deselve nat gemaakt hebbende, spreijde die deelen grooter uijt, ende deselve weder droog geworden sijnde, waren deselve in verscheijde deelen wat van den anderen gescheijden, en ik sag daar benevens ook, dat ijder van dese gesepareerde<sup>9</sup> deelen nog van veel dunder deeltjens op malkanderen waren leggende. Om<sup>10</sup> een beter bevatting te hebben van het te samen gestel van die deeltjens waar mede de handen, en voeten, voor die geene die veel hard werk doen en veel gaan, in dikte toe nemen die wij eelt noemen, mede beset sijn, soo hebbe ik een kleijn gedeelte vande gesepareerde deelen laten af teijkenen als hier fig: 1.<sup>11</sup> tussen ABCD. werden aan gewesen, hoe wel alle in soo en wel gemaaktheijt niet waren, als deselve hier geteijkent sijn, en na alle mijne waar neminge oordeelde ik dat ijder deeltje op sijn selven wierde gemaakt en niet aan den andren<sup>12</sup> en waren vereenigt.



Vorders hadde ik verscheijde stukjens eelt, die ik in haar dikst van het eelt hadde af gesneden voor het vergroot glas staan, die ik deselve doen ik ze op het glas plaaste met schoon regen water hadde nat gemaakt, waar door deselve een groote uijt breijdinge aan namen, ende weder droog werdende weder in krimpten, waar door ze aan verscheijde lange deelen sig vertoonden, en ijder van die lange deeltiens scheenen weder te bestaan uijt lange deeltjens, als hier met fig. 2: EFGH. werd aangewesen, soo dat EH. ofte FG. de dikte van het stukje eelt was, dat ik quam te door snijden.

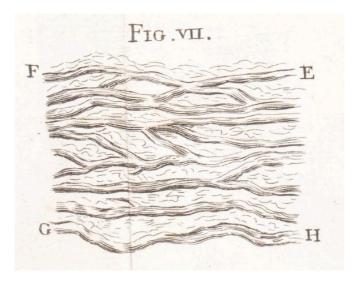
<sup>8</sup> raijsoir, scheermes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> In het hs. abusievelijk *gesepaarde*.

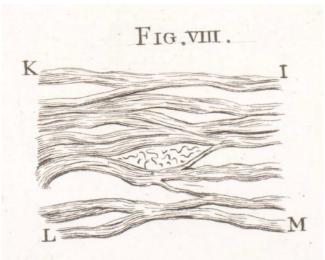
<sup>10</sup> Hs.: leggende, om.

Fig. 1-3 in de tekst van L. werden als Fig. VI-VIII afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions* 32, nr. 373 op dezelfde plaat met de vijf figuren uit Brief L-573 van 1 mei 1722, die werden aangeduid met Fig. I-V.

<sup>12</sup> aan den andren, aan elkaar.



Uijt dese waarneminge nam ik in gedagten, of soo een striemagtige deeltje in ons oog, die met EF. ofte HG. niet mogte de dikte sijn, die het eelt in een maant mogte toe genomen hebben, en die seer dunne deeltiens, die in soo een verbeelt striemtie werden aangewesen, ni[et]<sup>13</sup> wel de dikte sijn die 't eelt in ijder dag aanneemt. Dit<sup>14</sup> laaste geseijde stukje fig: 2 hadde soo veel lighaams groote niet, als een gemeen sand groot is<sup>15</sup> ende alsoo ik nog een seer kleijn stukje eelt voor een vergroot-glas hadde staan, dat wat dunder was gesneden, ende dat men dus de seer dunne deeltiens die in fig: 3. met IKLM. werden aan gewesen de beddekens sijn, die de eelt deelen op een leggen ende alsoo de dikte vande eelt uijt maakt.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> In het hs. zijn de letters *et* achterwege gebleven.

<sup>14</sup> Hs.: aanneemt, dit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Een gemeen sand is ongeveer 0,064 mm<sup>3</sup>.

Om mijn selven verder te voldoen, liet ik tot mij komen een metselaars knegt, die een naarstig ambagt man was, en die snede ik twee stukjens eelt van binnen uijt de hand, daar het eelt dikst was, en ik snede hetselve aan kleijne schijfjens in sijn dikte, dog ik konde wel bekennen, de dunne op een leggende deelen die de dikte vande eelt waren uijt makende, maar ik konde de schobbetjens waar van ijder beddetje vande eelt bestaat, niet van een scheijden, om beeld ik mij in, dat die kleijne deelen, door geduijrige drukkinge die haar inden arbeijt werden aan gedaan soo aan den anderen werden geplakt, en als vereenigt datter voor mij geen scheijdinge aan te doen was.

Om dat de Metselaars hare handen veel malen met de scharpe souten van de kalk sijn beset, ende dat de scheijdinge vande seer kleijne eelt deelen mogte beletten, soo liet ik tot mij komen een Meester timmerman die mede neerstig arbeijt. Deese sijne handen besiende om wat eelt af te snijden, vond ik sijn handen van binnen soo sagt en sonder eelt, als of hij geen arbeijt dede, waar op ik tot den selven seijde, gij wast u handen veel maal. Waar op ik tot antwoort kreeg, wel tien maal op een dag ik mag geen vuijl aan mijn handen sien, en alsoo een bruijker van t Lant tot mij komt die sijn meeste landen die hij teelt kooren landen sijn, ende die sijn handen seer beeelt waren, snede ik twee stukjens eelt van sijn handen, die ik int ontstukken snijden soo hard vond, dat mijn scharp mes schaaren hadde ende ook om leijde<sup>16</sup>, en ik bevond dat de bovenste eelt vol kleijne schuurtjens hadde, ende deselve was soo vast in een gedrukt datter voor mij niet aan te ontdekken was, als de seer dunne beddekens, die op malkanderen lagen, die de dikte vande eelt waren uijt makende.

Vorders leijde ik de twee stukjens eelt in heet water op dat<sup>17</sup> deselve sagt soude werden, om of ik door sulk doen de eelt deeltjens van een soude scheijden, dog ik konde sulks niet te weeg brengen, om dat de eelt deeltjens soo vast aan den anderen waren vereenigt.

Ik hebbe verscheijde malen waar genomen, dat als ik mijn handen hadde gewassen, en nog maar weijnig naderhand de handen was, dat ik dan de binnenste deelen vande handen seer stijf en dat verscheijde malen tegen den anderen was drukkende in welk doen ik gewaar wierde of voelde, datter eenige deelen van de af gevrevene huijt, tussen de handen was. Om mijn selven hier in te voldoen maakte ik een vinger van mijn hand in schoon regenwater nat ende met dat weijnig<sup>18</sup> water dat deel vande hand daar de duijm sijn begin heeft nat, ende doen wreef ik beijde de handen aldaar seer stark tegen den anderen, vrijvende ende dat gedaan hebbende schrabten ik met een pennemesje sedig die stoffe die ik met vrijven vande huijt hadde ontdaan, af, ende een weijnig van die stoffe leijde ik van het pennemes op een schoon glas, ende het selve voor het vergroot-glas besiende, sag ik met verwondering de seer groote menigte eelt deeltjens die van den anderen verspreijt lagen, dog waren irregulierder, als de geene die van een stukje eelt, dat ik van mijn voeten was nemende, ende die ook soo vast niet in een gepakt konnen sijn, om dat mijn gang die weijnig is, en mijn swaar valt, in mijn seer hooge jaren<sup>19</sup>.

Na desen hebbe ik de rugge van mijn handen een weijnig nat gemaakt, ende doen de rugge van mijne handen tegen malkanderen tien à twaelf wat hart gevreven, ende als doen met een kleijn mesje sedig die stoffe, die ik met den geseijde vrijvinge hadde los gemaakt, van mijn handen genomen ende deselvige op een schoon glas geplaast, ende door het vergroot-glas besiende, na dat de af gevrevene stoffe met een weijnig water was van een gespreijt, ende mede waar genomen de menigvuldige schobbetiens<sup>20</sup> die van onse hand waren af gevreven.

schaaren, schaarden, inkepingen in de snede van een mes; ende ook om leijde, en dat ook het scherp van de snede (plaatselijk) omgebogen was.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> In het hs. twee maal dat.

In het hs. staat, als laatste letter een n in plaats van een g.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> L. was 89 jaar toen hij deze brief schreef.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> schobbetiens, schubbetjes, schilfertjes.

Alsoo ik geen dikker eelt aan mijn hande als voor aan de duijm bij de nagels ende dat hangt af beelt ik mijn selven in, om dat ik in mijn seer hooge jaren in mijne ondersoekinge na de geschapene saaken soekende de duijm wel het meeste beweeg, soo hebbe ik mijn eene duijm, een weijnig nat gemaakt, ende met de andere duijm daar een weijnig tegen gevreven, ende als doen, de los gevrevene stoffe voor het vergroot glas gebragt, ende de deelen door het vergrootglas besiende sag ik soo veel deeltjens in fig: 1. met ABCD. aan gewesen dog irregulier, dat het geen Mens en is te doen gelooven, dan die het gesigt daar van heeft.

Als wij nu bevinden, datter met de vrijvinge van onse handen, soo veel deeltjens af gaan, die daaglijks weder in een wel gestelt lighaam werden gemaakt soo moeten wij vast stellen, dat wij verscheijde van soo danige af gevreven deelen in ons broot tot spijs nuttigen, en ook tot voetsel gedijt, hoe weijnig dat het ook is, en ik beelt mij ook in, datter bij na geen spijs voor ons bereijt werd, die wat veel door de handen moet gaan, of daar sijn vande af gedrevene deelen in en wel voornamentlijk alser van meel een deeg werd gekneet, en nog meer alsde bakkers haar deeg om roggen broot te bakken, met haar voeten kneeden.

Sedert de waarneminge ontrent de afvrijvende deelen van mijn handen, neem ik nu meerder agt met reijnigen van mijn handen, en ik sta als verstelt over de menigvuldige deeltjens, die daaglijks van mijn handen af gaan en weder als aan groeijen, en hoe een ingeschapenheijt van binnen in onse handen ende onder onse voeten, soo een stoffe toe gevoert moet werden, sullen de deeltiens daar gemaakt werden, daar soodanige deeltiens op andere deelen van ons lighaam, op verre na soo veel niet gevonden werden want als wij agt geven op die geene die op de rugge van haar hand, veel arbeijt doen, dat daar geen eelt komt, maar wel een verhevent swelt, gelijk de droog scheerders of laken bereijders op haar slinker hand<sup>21</sup> hebben int kort soo danige toevoeringe van veelheijt van die kleijne deelen, sal voor ons verborgen blijven, ende de handen en voeten mosten met soo danige stoffe versien sijn, souden ze het gewelt, dat ze moeten uijtstaan, konnen verdragen.

Dus verre sijn mijne aanteekeninge ontrent het eelt, in het welke ik wil hoopen, dat eenige saaken in sullen sijn, waar in uwe Hoog Edele Heeren, een behagen sal vinden, ende ik sal met hooge agtinge blijven<sup>22</sup>.

Hare Hoog Edele Heeren Onderdanigste Dienaar

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Droogscheerders waren gespecialiseerde lakenbereiders, wiens taak het was het oppervlak van de vervaardigde lakens of wollen stoffen glad te maken.

De volgende (en laatste) brief van L. aan leden van de de Royal Society is Brief L-585 van 31 mei 1723. Zijn volgende brief met wetenschappelijke waarnemingen, Brief L-581 van 20 november 1722, is echter gericht aan JAMES JURIN. Beide brieven staan in dit deel.

Addressed to: The Royal Society.

Manuscript: Signed autograph letter. The manuscript is to be found in London, Royal

Society, Early Letters L4.81; 8 quarto pages; 1 engraving with 3 figures. There is also preserved a copy of the letter in Letter Book Original 15.77, p. 270, 8 pages. The engraving is to be found in Letter Book Original 15.77.1, p. 273. For a contemporary English translation of the letter by

JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE, see Early Letters L4.82, 7 pages.

## PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1722: "Observations upon the Callus of the Hands and Feet, by the Same Curious Gentleman. Translated by John Chamberlayne, Esq." *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 October 1722), no. 373, pp. 156-161, 3 figures. - Practically complete English translation of the letter.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE (1924): De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 145. - Dutch summary.

### SUMMARY:

In this letter, L. thanks the Royal Society for sending numbers of the *Philosophical Transactions*. He examines a callus from his own foot and from the hands of a bricklayer, a carpenter, and a farmer and concludes that all food that is prepared by hand also contains little pieces of skin.

# FIGURES:

No original drawings now exist. The letter came with three figures on a single engraving. Figures 1-3 can be found as Figs. VI-VIII on the plate with no. 373 of the *Philosophical Transactions*.

## **REMARKS:**

The translation was read during the 15 November 1722 (O.S.) meeting of the Royal Society, Royal Society, Journal Book Original, vol. 13, p. 224, including a short summary and ending, "Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was ordered thanks for his curious observations."

Delft in Holland the 7th of July 17221

To the very noble gentlemen The gentlemen of the Royal Society

This serves to thank you, very noble sirs, very much for the parcel with the Philosophical Transactions, consisting of no. 351 to no. 363, printed in the year 1719², which have been handed to me on the 23d of June, which you, very noble sirs, have been pleased to present to me, although undeserved; and also to send to you, very noble sirs, the enclosed observations.

I have many times been thinking about the thick skin of our hands and feet, which we call callus. Because in the month of September 1719, I had, when lying in bed, some pain, which prevented my sleep, on the side of my foot in the place where the little toe has its beginning, and because I always sleep in two pairs of stockings, in the morning I had my stockings taken off, because of the callus, of which I judged that it, being there thicker than usual, was that which caused my pain. Therefore, I had my servant<sup>3</sup> remove the callus with the nails of the hand and a little knife and to let this fall on a piece of blue paper on which my foot was standing. I judged that it must now be thicker than I had seen previously, because that part of the foot had not been stripped of its callus for several months.

This callus was lying in little flakes, the one upon the other, and the largest piece was as broad as a small nail of the hand.

I observed its flakes through the magnifying glass, and I could not obtain a satisfactory result, because they were lying so disorderly upon one another.

Furthermore, I took a piece of callus and I put this on a clean glass. I moistened it with clean rainwater and I divided it carefully with a piece of a quill. I saw with amazement into how many parts a piece of callus could be separated, and with little effort at that, just as though they had never been attached to one another.

Afterwards, I took two or three of the said little parts, many of which had the shape of weavers' shuttles, being broad in the middle and slightly tapering off at the ends. Many of them had in the middle such a little groove as is to be found on the outermost skin of fruits, or our outermost skin, and almost all of those parts irregular, at which I saw that they were rather thick in proportion to their size. Therefore, I took two to three of the said little parts, and I put them on a clean glass. I added to them an amount of water the volume of a coarse grain of sand<sup>4</sup>, and I separated them as well as I could. Viewing these separated little parts through the magnifying glass, I stood amazed that I saw lying there so many little parts, which were exceptionally thin and had the same figure as I have said just now.

Furthermore, I took scales of the thickest piece of callus, being not quite half as thick as the back of a small knife, and I cut them with a very sharp razor into such thin slices as was feasible for me. I put them on a clean glass, with the intention thus to discover the

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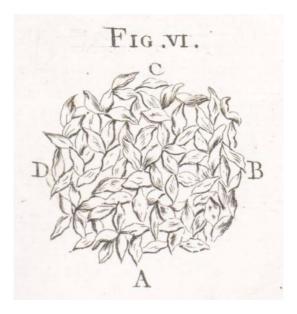
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> L.'s previous letter to the Royal Society is Letter L-576 of 13 June 1722, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> These are the 13 numbers in volume 30 of the *Philosophical Transactions*. Because EDMOND HALLEY was editor, they do not contain any letters by L., even though he sent a dozen letters to the Royal Society during that time period. As JAMES JURIN notes in Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.), in this volume, HALLEY did not have most of them translated. Therefore, they were not read at a meeting of the Royal Society. L. published all of them in *Send-Brieven* in 1718.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Probably the family's maid JOSINA VAN DER SPRENKEL. See Letter L-569 of 11 April 1721, n. 7, in this volume.

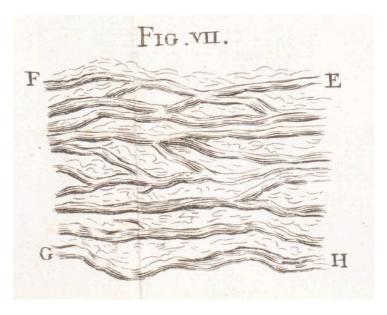
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A coarse grain of sand is approximately 0.66 mm<sup>3</sup>.

very thin parts that were lying upon one another. When I moistened them, I spread those parts farther out. When they again dried, they were slightly separated into several parts separate from one another. I saw, moreover, also that each of these separated parts consisted of yet much thinner little parts lying upon one another. In order to provide a better understanding of the structure of those parts with which the hands and feet of people who do much heavy work and walk much increase in thickness, which we call callus, and with which they are covered, I had a small part of the separated parts drawn, as is shown here in Fig. VI<sup>5</sup> between ABCD, although not all of them were so neatly fashioned as they have been drawn here. Going by all my observations, I judged that each little part was fashioned independently, and that they were not united to one another.

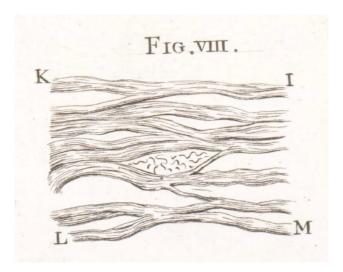


Furthermore, I had standing before the magnifying glass several pieces of callus, which I had cut as thickly as possible from the callus and which I moistened with clean rainwater when I put them on the glass, through which they swelled considerably. When they again dried up, they shrank again, through which one could see that they consisted of several long parts, and each of these long parts seemed in its turn to consist of long little parts, as is shown here in Fig. VII with EFGH, so that EH or FG was the thickness of the piece of callus that I had cut through.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Figs. 1-3 in L.'s text became Figs. VI-VIII when printed in *Philosophical Transactions* on the same plate with the five figures from Letter L-573 of 1 May 1722 labeled Figs. I-V.



Consequent upon this observation, I considered the possibility that such a strip-like little part, as we see, which is shown with EF or HG, could perhaps be the thickness with which the callus increases in a period of a month. Those very thin little parts, which are shown within such an imagined little strip, might well be the thickness with which the callus increases on each single day. This little piece, last mentioned, in Fig. VII, had not as much volume as is the size of a common grain of sand<sup>6</sup>. I still had standing in front of a magnifying glass a very small piece of callus that had been cut somewhat thinner. The very thin parts, shown in Fig. VIII with IKLM, are the little beds where the callus parts lie upon one another, and thus make up the thickness of the callus.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A common sand is approximately 0.064 mm<sup>3</sup>.

In order to gain further certainty on this point, I sent for the servant of a bricklayer, who was an industrious craftsman, and I cut two pieces of callus from the inside of his hand where the callus was thickest. I cut this through its thickness into thin slices. Yet I could indeed perceive the thin parts lying upon one another, which constituted the thickness of the callus, but I could not separate the little scales, of which each little bed of callus is made up, because, I imagine, those small parts through the continuous pressure exerted on them during the labour come to be so much stuck together and, as it were, united to each other, that it was impossible for me to bring about their separation.

Because the hands of bricklayers are often covered with the sharp salts of lime, and that could interfere with the separation of the very small parts of callus, I sent for a master carpenter, who also works very industriously. When I regarded his hands in order to cut some pieces of callus from them, I found the inside of his hands to be so soft and without callus, as if he did not labour at all. Whereupon, I said to him: you are often washing your hands. Whereupon, I got the answer: as much as ten times a day; I hate to see dirt on my hands. When a tenant farmer visited me, most of whose fields, which he cultivates, are corn fields, and whose hands were very callous, I cut two pieces of callus from his hands, which I found, when cutting them to pieces, to be so hard that my sharp knife had notches and the sharp edge was also bent back. I found that the topmost layer of the callus was full of little cracks. It was so tightly pressed together that nothing was to be discovered in it for me, save the very thin beds, which were lying upon one another, which made up the thickness of the callus.

Furthermore, I laid the two pieces of callus into hot water so that they would grow soft, in order to see whether by doing this I would be able to separate the little parts of the callus from one another. But I could not bring this about, because the parts of callus were so tightly united to one another.

I have observed several times that, when I wash my hands and again wash my hands only a little later, that I am pressing the inner parts of the hands very tightly against one another, and that several times. When doing this, I was aware of, or felt, that some parts of the rubbed-off skin were between the hands.

In order to gain more certainty on this point, I wet a finger of my hand in clean rainwater, and with that little bit of water I wet that part of the hand where the thumb has its beginning. Then I rubbed both hands on that place very strongly against one another, and having done this, I carefully scraped off with a little penknife the substance that I had loosened from the skin. I laid a little of that substance from the penknife on a clean glass and observing this before the magnifying glass, I saw with amazement a very great multitude of little parts of callus, which were lying spread apart from one another. But they were more irregular than the ones from a piece of callus that I had taken from my feet. These parts could not be packed together so tightly either, because I walk very little, and walking is difficult for me in my very advanced age?

After this, I slightly wet the backs of my hands, and then rubbed the backs of my hands ten to twelve [times] rather hard against one another. Then with a little knife, I carefully took the substance that I had loosened from my hands with the said rubbing, put this on a clean glass, and viewed this through the magnifying glass. After that, the substance that had been rubbed off was spread apart by means of a little bit of water, and I also discerned the manifold little scales that had been rubbed off from our hand.

Because I did not have any thicker callus on my hands than on the foremost part of the thumb near the nails, - and this, I imagine, hinges upon the fact that in my very advanced age, searching for the created things in my investigations, I may well move my thumb the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> L. was 89 years old when he wrote this letter.

most, - therefore, I slightly wet one of my thumbs and rubbed the other thumb slightly against it and then put the substance that was rubbed off in front of the magnifying glass. Observing the parts through the magnifying glass, I saw so many little parts of the kind shown in Fig. VI with ABCD, but irregular, that no person can be made to believe it, save one who actually sees it.

Now when we find that with the rubbing of our hands so many little parts come off from them, which are daily made anew in a well-made body, then we must take for granted that we consume several of such rubbed-off parts as food in our bread, and that this also serves as nourishment, however little it may be. I think too that almost no kind of food that has to be handled rather extensively is prepared for us in which there are no rubbed-off parts, and in particular when dough is kneaded from meal. This is the case even more when the bakers knead their dough with their feet to make rye bread.

Since the observations with regard to the rubbed-off parts from my hands, I now give more attention to the cleaning of my hands. I stand amazed at the manifold little parts that daily come off from my hands and grow again, and how through an innate property from within our hands and underneath our feet such a substance must be supplied, if these little parts are to be made there. However, on the other parts of our body nowhere near so many of such little parts are to be found. For when we pay attention to those people who bring to bear much pressure on the back of their hands, we see that no callus is growing there, but rather a bulge, like the shearers and makers of cloth have on their left hand. Briefly, such a supply of a multitude of those little parts will remain hidden from us. The hands and feet have to be provided with such a substance if they are to be able to sustain the force exerted upon them.

So far run my notes with regard to the callus, in which I dare hope that there will be some things that will please you, very noble sirs, and I shall remain with great respect<sup>8</sup>.

Of you, very noble sirs The humblest servant

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> L.'s next (and final) letter addressed to members of the Royal Society is Letter L-585 of 31 May 1723. However, his next letter with scientific observations, Letter L-581 of 20 November 1722, is addressed to JAMES JURIN. Both letters are in this volume.

Gericht aan: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Eigenhandige, ondertekende brief. Het manuscript bevindt zich bij de

Royal Society, Londen, Early Letters L4.73, 3 kwartobladzijden. Aldaar ook een eigentijdse Engelse vertaling van de brief door JAMES JURIN in

Early Letters L4.74; 2 bladzijden.

## GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: *The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750)*, (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), letter 34.

# SAMENVATTING:

In deze begeleidende brief bij een brief van L. van dezelfde datum gericht aan de Royal Society, rapporteert L. dat hij geen 'dierkens' heeft aangetroffen in de puistjes van mensen met waterpokken.

## OPMERKINGEN:

De Engelse vertaling van deze brief werd voorgelezen tijdens de vergadering van 15 november 1722 (O.S.) van de Royal Society; zie Journal Book Original, Dl. 13, blz. 305.

Zie voor JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 in dit deel. Zie voor een volledige lijst van de briefwisseling tussen L. en JURIN, Bijlage 13, *Alle de Brieven*, Dl. 20.

Delft in Holland, den 7e julij 17221

Aande Edele Hoog geleerde Heer. D' Heer J. JURIN<sup>2</sup>, Secretaris vande Coninklijke Societeit in London

Wel Edele Hoog geleerde Heere.

Ik hebbe in UE. Wel Edele Heere seer aangenamen vanden 15. der voorlede Maant Meij<sup>3</sup> gesien dat sijne wel Edele Heere SLOON<sup>4</sup> versoekt dat ik na soude na soeken, of ik ook eenige diertjens soude ontdekken in het water uijt de huijt wierde gestooten vande geene die Schurft sijn, als ook int water datter is inde kinder pokken<sup>5</sup> gelijk ...<sup>6</sup> seijt datter sijn.

Ik neme de vrijheijt hier op te seggen, dat ik gans geen geloof stelde de diertiens, die men seijt datter in gevonden werden.

Want vast gestelt sijnde, dat niet int bloet van Menschen of dieren gevonden werden, hoe konnense dan inde kinder pokken, ofte in de waterige stoffe vande schurftige wesen, na de maal men ondervonden heeft, dat de kleijne bloet vaatjens geen eijnde hebben, ende dat dus alle de stoffe, die met blaas gewijse deelen buijten de opperflakte vande huijt werden gestooten, die stoffe is, beelt ik mij in, die door de rokjens vande bloet vaatjens werde gestooten, soo die waterige vogt niet root is, de serum van het bloet is, dog in groote voort stootinge van het bloet, daar sijn voort stootinge belet wort, beelt ik mij in, dat de bloet bolletjens aldaar wel souden werden ontstukken gebrooken, ende dus door de rokjens vande dunne bloet vaatjens werden gestooten.

Ik ben noijt inde lugt, of ik hebbe hand schoenen aan mijn handen, en wanneer ik met voordagt inde starke sonneschijn niet met mijn hand schoenen gae sitten, soo plag de rugge van mijn hand, met seer veel kleijne water blaasjens op te loopen dog soo groot niet, dat ik het water daar uijt, hebbe konnen nemen, en het is met mijn slinker narm in het na jaar soo gelegen, dat in een koude nagt mijn slinker arm, niet wel gedekt is geweest, loopen tussen de hand ende elleboog, ter spatie van vier vinger breete, een menig vuldige kleijne water blaasjens op, die mij een boven gemeene jeukinge verwekken, die mij eenige dagen bij blijft, soo dat ik bij dag verscheijde malen, mijn arm ontbloot, ende die blaasjens met mijn nagelen, soo ontstukken breek datter het bloet als uijt komt, ende dus doende wierde ik vande jeukinge ontlast.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De vorige brief van L. aan JAMES JURIN is Brief L-577 van 13 juni 1722 in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zie voor JURIN de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 (gedateerd 22 februari 1722 O.S.) in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Brief L-575 van 26 mei 1722 (gedateerd 15 mei 1722 O.S.) in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Zie voor Hans Sloane (1660-1753) het Biog. Reg., *Alle de Brieven*, Dl. 12, blz. 406 en de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-311 van 18 december 1696, *idem*, Dl. 20. Zie voor een volledige lijst van de briefwisseling tussen Sloane and L. Bijlage 10, *ibidem*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Destijds was het onderscheid tussen waterpokken en pokken niet duidelijk.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Het beletselteken staat in het hs. Zoals zo vaak heeft L. de naam van zijn zegsman niet vermeld.

<sup>7</sup> rokjens, vaatwanden.

Dese jeukinge stel ik vast, en ontstaat mij niet uijt een scharp bloet of uijt diertiens die int bloet sijn, maar alleen beelt ik mij in dat de uijt wasemende seer kleijne openinge inde opperste huijt door de droogte soo geslooten sijnde, dat de uijt gestoote vogt, niet door de vaatjes konnende uijt wasemen, de huijt met water blaasjens vande om leggende deelen als af schuurt. Dese afschuuringe de maal de deeltjens ongemeen kleijn sijn, en verwekken na geen pijn, maar alleen een jeukinge, ende dit heeft ook plaats, beelt ik mij in, inde geene die schurft sijn.

Ik hebbe aande chirurgijn van ons wees huijs<sup>9</sup>, daar de kinderen welkers ouders overleden en geen goederen na laten, of weg geloopen sijn, werden op gevoet, ende het getal is 240 en daar is er geen een die schurft is.

Maar wat sullen wij van eenige seggen, die alleen maar uijt sijn, om een naam te verkrijgen als seeker Heer<sup>10</sup>, die seijt dat de schulp vissen uijt sig selfs voort komen<sup>11</sup>, en als dit waar was wat souden wij al wonderlijke gedrogten, van schulp vissen aan onse Zee stranden vinden, daar nu niet als gemene schulp vissen vinden gelijk men te meer malen onder vonden heeft<sup>12</sup>, dat de schulp vissen op seeker tijd van het jaar de schulp vissen jonge schulp visjens in hare lighame hebben.

Al hoe wel ik vast stel datter geen diertiens int nat dat inde water blaasiens vande schurftige is, soo sal ik egter niet na laten de geseijde waterige vogt ofte nat, als mij een schurftige voor komt na mijn vermogen te onder soeken.

Mijn gedienstig versoek is, of Uwe Edele de Heeren SLOON en CHAMBERLAIJNE<sup>13</sup> mijn onderdanige dienst te presenteeren, en ik sal na veel agtinge blijven<sup>14</sup>.

Sijne Wel Edele Heere Onderdanige dienaar

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>8</sup> de uijt wasemende seer kleijne openinge, de poriën.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Het is niet achterhaald wie in 1722 de chirurgijn van het Delftse weeshuis was.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> L. doelt hier waarschijnlijk op FILIPPO BUONANNI (1638-1725). Zie PALM, 'Leeuwenhoek's malacological researches', blz. 155.

Gedurende zijn hele carrière verzette L. zich tegen het idee van spontane generatie dat bleef bestaan onder zowel geleerden als de mensen die L. in zijn dagelijks leven tegenkwam. Zie RUESTOW, 'Leeuwenhoek and the Campaign against Spontaneous Generation'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> In het hs. stond eerst *daar wij nu*, maar *wij* is doorgestreept.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE (1666-1723) vertaalde de meeste brieven van L. voor de Royal Society van 1700 tot 1723. Zie het Biog. Reg., *idem*, Dl. 13, blz. 338, en VERMIJ & PALM, 'Chamberlayne'. Zie voor een volledige lijst van de briefwisseling tussen CHAMBERLAYNE en L. Bijlage 12, *idem*, Dl. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> De volgende brief van L. aan JURIN is Brief L-581 of 20 november 1722 in dit deel.

*Addressed to:* JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Signed autograph letter. The manuscript is to be found in London, Royal

Society, Early Letters L4.73, 3 quarto pages. There is also preserved a contemporary English translation by JAMES JURIN in Early Letters L4.74;

2 pages.

## PUBLISHED IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: *The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750)*, (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), letter 34.

### SUMMARY:

In this cover letter to L.'s letter of the same date addressed to the Royal Society, L. reports that no "little animals" are to be found in the pustules of those with chickenpox.

### REMARKS:

The English translation was read at the 15 November 1722 O.S. meeting of the Royal Society; see Journal Book Original, vol. 13, p. 305.

The translation here differs from JURIN's, which was the one used by RUSNOCK. For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722, in this volume. See Appendix 13, *Collected Letters*, vol. 20, for a complete list of the correspondence between JURIN and L.

Delft in Holland, the 7th of July 1722<sup>1</sup>

To the noble highly learned gentleman Mr. J. JURIN<sup>2</sup>, secretary of the Royal Society in London.

Noble, highly learned sir,

I have seen in the very pleasant letter of you, honoured sir, of the 15th of the month of May last<sup>3</sup>, that the honoured Mr. SLOANE<sup>4</sup> requests that I would investigate whether I could perhaps discern little animals of some kind in the water that is thrust out of the skin of those persons who are scabious, as well as in the water that is present in the chicken pocks<sup>5</sup>, as ....<sup>6</sup> says that there are.

I take the liberty to say to this that I am wholly incredulous with regard to the little animals, of which it is said that they are found in it.

For because we are sure that there are none to be found in the blood of human beings or animals, how, then, can they be present in the chicken pocks or in the watery fluid of scabious people, because it has been found that the little blood vessels have no endings, and that therefore all substances that are thrust out of the surface of the skin with vesicles is that substance, in my opinion, that is thrust through the walls of the blood vessels. If that watery fluid is not red, it is the serum of the blood, but in a great damming-up of the blood, when its forward thrust is blocked, I imagine that in that place the blood globules may well be broken to pieces, and so are thrust through the walls of the thin little blood vessels.

I never stay in the open air without having gloves on my hands; and when I deliberately sit down in blazing sunshine without wearing gloves, then the back of my hand is wont to swell with very many little vesicles, but not so large that I have been able to extract the fluid from them. In the autumn the situation with regard to my left arm is like this, that when on a cold night my left arm has not been thoroughly covered, over a breadth of four fingers between the hand and the elbow a multitude of little vesicles appear, which cause me an extraordinary itching, which remains with me for several days. During the day, I bare my arm several times and with my nails break the little vesicles so far to pieces that the blood emerges, and by doing this I am relieved of the itch.

I am firmly convinced that this itch of mine does not arise from a sharpness of the blood, or from little animals that are in the blood, but, I imagine, only because of the fact that the very tiny evaporating openings in the outermost skin through the dryness are so far closed that the thrust-out moisture, not being able to evaporate through the little vessels, as it were tears the skin with the little vesicles loose from the surrounding parts. Since the parts are extraordinarily tiny, this tearing-off does not cause pain but merely an itch. I imagine that this also comes about in people who are scabious.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> L.'s previous letter to JAMES JURIN is Letter L-577 of 13 June 1722, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For JURIN, see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 (dated 22 February 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For HANS SLOANE (1660-1753), see the Biog. Reg., *Collected Letters*, vol. 12, p. 407, and the Remarks to Letter L-311 of 18 December 1696, *idem*, vol. 20. See Appendix 10, *ibidem*, for a complete list of the exchange of letters between SLOANE and L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> At the time, the distinction between chickenpox and smallpox was not clear.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The ellipsis is in the ms. As so often, L. did not mention the name.

I have spoken with the surgeon of our orphanage<sup>7</sup>, where the children are reared whose parents have died and not left any property, or have absconded. Their number is 240, and among them there is not a single one who is scabious.

But what are we to say about some persons, whose only aim is to gain a reputation, like a certain gentleman<sup>8</sup> who says that the shellfish come spontaneously into being<sup>9</sup>. If this were true, how many curious monsters of shellfish would we find on our beaches, whereas now we find nothing but ordinary shellfish. People now have found several times that in a certain time of the year the shellfish have young shellfish in their body.

Although I am firmly convinced that there are no little animals in the fluid that is in the little vesicles of scabious people, yet I shall not fail to investigate, as well as I can, the said watery fluid, or moisture, when I come across someone who is scabious.

I respectfully beg Your Honour to offer my humble service to Messrs SLOANE and CHAMBERLAYNE<sup>10</sup>, and I shall remain with much respect<sup>11</sup>.

Honoured sir, Your obedient servant

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "The surgeon of our orphanage" has not been identified.

<sup>8</sup> L. is probably referring here to FILIPPO BUONANNI (1638-1725). See PALM, 'Leeuwenhoek's malacological researches', p. 155.

<sup>9</sup> Throughout his career, L. opposed the idea of spontaneous generation that persisted among both scholars and the people whom L. encountered in his daily life. See RUESTOW, "Leeuwenhoek and the Campaign against Spontaneous Generation".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE (1666-1723) translated most of L.'s letters for the Royal Society from 1700 to 1723. See the Biog. Reg., *idem*, vol. 13, p. 389, and VERMIJ & PALM, "Chamberlayne". See Appendix 12, *idem*, vol. 20, for a complete list of the letters between CHAMBERLAYNE and L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> L.'s next letter to JURIN is Letter L-581 of 20 November 1722, in this volume.

BRIEF Nr. L-580 12 OKTOBER 1722

Gericht aan: Antoni van Leeuwenhoek.

Geschreven door: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Deze brief is alleen bekend door verwijzing in het antwoord van L.

### SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief vertelt JURIN aan L. dat zijn ideeën over pokken aanvaardbaar zijn voor de Royal Society.

### BRON:

Brief L-581 van 20 november 1722 aan JAMES JURIN:

Litterae tuae, quas 1 Octob. 1722 ad me dedisti, suo tempore mihi redditae et admodum jucundae fuerunt. Ex iis autem intellexit thesim meam, de variolis, apud vos probari. Iam lubet observationes meas, super re longe diversa, Tecum communicare.

### OPMERKINGEN:

De datum is Nieuwe Stijl, elf dagen later dan de Oude Stijl-datum van 1 october 1722 die JURIN in Londen gebruikte. Deze brief ontbreekt in RUSNOCK's *Correspondence of James Jurin*.

De brieven aan JURIN van L. over waterpokken zijn Brief L-577 van 13 juni 1722 en Brief L-579 van 7 juli 1722, beide in dit deel.

JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) redigeerde als secretaris van de Royal Society van 1721 tot 1727 de delen 31-34 van de *Philosophical Transactions*, waarin hij 15 van L.'s laatste brieven aan hem en aan de Royal Society uitgaf. Zie de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 (gedateerd 22 februari 1722 O.S.) van JURIN aan L. in dit deel.

LETTER NO. L-580 12 OCTOBER 1722

Addressed to: Antoni van Leeuwenhoek.

Written by: JAMES JURIN.

*Manuscript*: This letter is known only by reference in L.'s reply.

## SUMMARY:

In this letter, JURIN tells L. that his ideas about chicken- and smallpocks are acceptable to the Royal Society.

### SOURCE:

Letter L-581 of 20 November 1722 to JAMES JURIN:

Your letter, which you wrote to me on the 1st of October 1722, was given to me in good time, and was very pleasant. I have, then, understood from this that my hypothesis on pocks has found acceptance among you.

### REMARKS:

The date is New Style, which was eleven days ahead of the Old Style date of 1 October 1722 used by JURIN in London. This letter is not calendared in RUSNOCK's Correspondence of James Jurin.

L.'s letters to JURIN about smallpox are Letter L-577 of 13 June 1722 and Letter L-579 of 7 July 1722, both in this volume.

JURIN, as secretary of the Royal Society from 1721 to 1727, edited volumes 31-34 of *Philosophical Transactions*, in which he published 15 of L.'s final letters to him and to the Royal Society. For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 (dated 22 February 1722 O.S.) in this volume. See Appendix 13, *Collected Letters*, vol. 20, for a complete list of the correspondence between JURIN and L.

Gericht aan: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Het manuscript van de door L. ondertekende Latijnse vertaling van zijn

brief bevindt zich bij de Royal Society, Londen, Early Letters L4.83, 12 kwartobladzijden; 2 gravures. Aldaar ook een kopie van de brief in Letter

Book Original 15.78, blz. 279, 12 blz.

### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1722: 'De Particulis & Structura Adamantum. Epistola Domini Antonii Leeuwenhoek, R. S. Soc. ad Jacobum Jurin, M. D. R S. Secret', *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 december 1722), nr. 374, blz. 199-206, 9 figuren. – Vrijwel volledige tekst van de Latijnse brief.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE (1924): De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, blz. 145. – Nederlandse samenvatting.

## SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief bespreekt L. de microscopische structuur van diamanten en bergkristal.

### FIGUREN:

Uit de archieven van de Royal Society blijkt dat deze brief vergezeld ging van een enkele gravure met 7 afbeeldingen (Royal Society, Letter Book Original 15.78.1) en nog een gravure met figuur 8 (Royal Society, Letter Book Original 15.78.2). In nr. 374 van de *Philosophical Transactions* staan echter de figuren genummerd 1-9.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

Overeenkomstig het verzoek van JAMES JURIN in Brief L-575 van 26 mei 1722 (gedateerd 15 mei 1722 O.S.), in dit deel, heeft L. deze brief uit het Nederlands in het Latijn laten vertalen, voordat hij hem ondertekende en verzond. De vertaler was vermoedelijk HENDRICK VAN RIJN¹, die eerder de *Send-Brieven* (1719) in het Latijn vertaalde. Zijn vertaling werd voorgelezen op de 20 december 1722 O.S. tijdens de vergadering van de Royal Society. Journal Book Original, Dl. 13, blz. 234. De brief werd in het Latijn uitgegeven in de *Philosophical Transactions*, dus er werd geen eigentijdse Engelse vertaling gemaakt.

De Latijnse titel in de *Philosophical Transactions* luidt in vertaling: 'Over de deeltjes en structuur van diamanten. Brief van ANTHONY LEEUWENHOEK, F.R.S. aan JACOB JURIN, M.D. secretaris van de R.S.'

Voor Van Rijn als vertaler van L., zie Voorwoord, Alle de Brieven, Dl. 18, noot 1. Van Rijn was boekhandelaar op het Bagijnhof in Delft. Bij zijn overlijden in 1732 woonde hij aan de Oude Delft, nabij de Haverbrugge.

Delphis in Holl. den 20: Novemb. 1722

## Erudiditissime Domine:

Litterae tuae, quas 1 Octob. 1722 ad me dedisti, suo tempore mihi redditae et admodum jucundae fuerunt. Ex iis autem intellexit thesim meam, de variolis, apud vos probari. Iam lubet observationes meas, super re longe diversa, Tecum communicare.]<sup>2</sup>

Postquam investigando compereram Metalla quaedam, et ipsas etiam Arenas, ex perexiguis eiusdem materiae particulis compositas esse, meditationem meam converti ad Adam-[an]tem; scilicet num ille etiam ex istius modi constet particulis; quae quidem ope microscopii conspici possint.

Igitur exiguum quemdam Adamantem per microscopium contemplatus; in ea adamantis parte quae polita non erat, et splendore carebat, complures particulas oculis observavi, et Adamantem ex parvis particulis compositum esse comperi. Verum cum haec nondum mihi satisfacerent, adamantem in frusta confringere decrevi, ut illum in fragmentis suis considerarem.

Ergo Adamantem, malleo impositum, alio malleo semel iterumque percussi; qui sic percussus in quatuor aut quinque frusta dissiliebat. Quod cum nondum, mihi satisfaceret, et adamantem in exiguissimas miculas comminuere vellem 1 frustum, quod ceterus majus erat, duplici charta circumvolvi, ne quae adamantis miculae dissiliendo perirent.

Hic ego duritiem Adamantis admiratus sum qui multa vi aliquoties ictus, in quatuor tantum aut quinque frusta sine ullis miculis dissiliebat.

Posteriora ista Adamantis frustula microscopio etiam admovi: quae cum perspicularer, pene omnia ex minutissimis particulis composita esse comperi. Cum autem frustula illa radiis solaribus obiicerem; quamdam quasi flammulam ex iis emicare videbam, et quidem maiorem, quam unquam vidissem.

Frustulum unum oculis notabam, quod locum fracturae suae, planae quidem ac quadratae, soli directe oppositum habebat: qui locus, quantum visu diindicabam, tribus aut quatuor pilis menti virilis latitudine respondebat.

Ex hoc Adamantis frustulo tanta ascendebat copia ardescentium, flammularum, ut plures esse numero quam quadringentas iudicarem. Flammularum istarum nonnulae, sed numero paucae, sibi erant vicinius iunctae et reliquis maiores unde concludebam ipsas Adamantis particulas illic etiam aliis particulis maiores esse, vel ordinatius esse dispositas.

Exinde oculos converti ad aliud Adamantis frustulum, paris circiter magnitudinis cum priori: quod radios solares itidem directe excipiebat, et haud paucioribus exiguissimae molis particulis constare comperiebam. Ex una frustuli illius parte, eaque circiter dimidiata species illae ardescentium flammularum etiam exoriebantur sed mole minores. In altera medietate flammula quaedam cernebatur, assidue se mobilitans, cum continua quadam coruscatione, quae speciem habebat debiliores fulgetri.

Caeterum, postquam ista Adamantis frustula radiis solaribus subduxeram, adhuc multi formes verum species oculis meis obiiciebantur. Inter alia, ex singulis Adamantis particulis flammula quaedam in altum emicare videbatur.

Porro, novem praeterea Adamantis frustula microscopio applicata habebam: et in eorum septem particulas illas agnovi, quas speciem flammularum eiaculari dixi. In duobus aliis etiam particulas illas agnoscere poteram, ex quibus Adamantem compositum esse statui: sed illae planitiem suam ita soli obversam habebant, ut plures eodum tempore particulas dignoscerem.

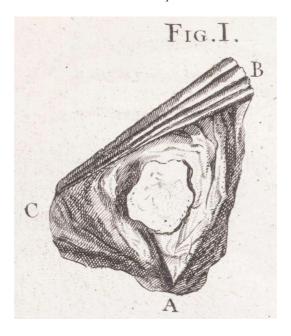
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Het stuk tussen de rechte haken is niet afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

Mihi autem peramoenum erat spectaculum, tot intueri imagines flammularum; quae omnes colorem praeferebant coruseum, et pleraeque, viridantem. Istud autem insolens mihi visum est, quod ad flammularum quarundem extremitatem talis perciperetur in aere, motus ac vibratio; tamquam si flammula adeo illic debilita foret, ut conspicua esse desineret. Prae ceteris autem admirabar quod ex tali adamantis particula circumquaque ignis exiret, debiliter rutilans, sicuti cum fulmen e longinquo coruscare videmus. Quod quidem tam crebro intuente me accidebat, ut oculos avertere non possem, nisi iam fatigatos.

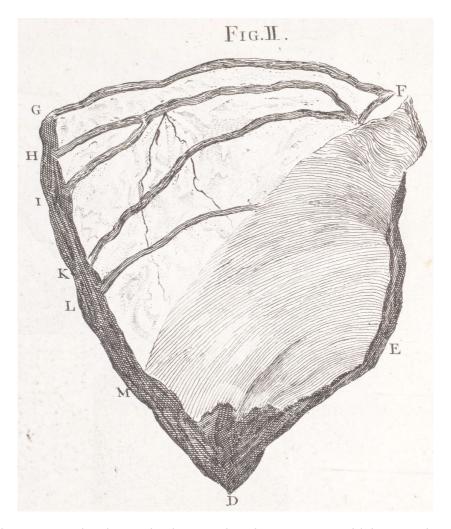
Verum tam iucundo spectaculo saepius frui decrevi; et frustulam istud Adamantis, donec sponte a vitro decidat, microscopio applicatum relinquere. Neque enim ope glutinosae alicuius materiae affixum est vitro: nisi quod vitrum, antequam illi frustum Adamantis affigerem, humore anhelitus mei irrorassem.

Cum tam grato spectaculo solus frui non vellem, quae modo relata sunt, legenda tradidi cuidam N. cui et microscopium in manus tradidi. Cumque post aliquantum morae requirerem, nonne omnia deseriptioni meae convenire comperiret; ille prorsus convenire respondit, et admirationem suam super spectaculi insolentia confessus est.

Porro, cum frustulum quoddam Adamantis adhuc microscopio applicatum esset; cuius particulas, lamellarum modo sibi incumbantos, visu dignoscere poteram; haud abs re me facturam putavi; si lamellas istas delineari curaram; quam hic in icone 1 denotatur per ABC.



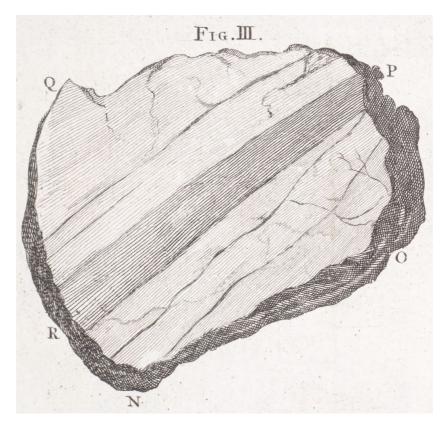
Deinde et aliud Adamantis fragmentum microscopio applicaveram, cuius lamellae, invicem superstratae, sese oculis distinctissime offerebant, quae hic in icone 2 designantur per DEFGHIKLM. In hac autem figura particulae illae sive lamellae, quae per FG, FH, FI, FK, et L denotatae sunt, reliquis aliquanto crassiores esse videntur: verum istae particulae ex pluribus lamellis, invicem superstratis, sunt compositae. In ista vero fragmenti parte, quam inter DEFM exprimendam curavi, distinctissime apparent tenuissimae lamellae; ex quarum congerie totum Adamantem concretum esse pro certo habendum est.



Priusquam secundam iconem in charta exprimendam curaveram; celebris gemmarius, N. Verbrugge, aedes meas praeteribat: quem ego ad convisendum Adamantis fragmen, sicut microscopio applicatum erat, invitavi. Ille fragmen istud non sine admiratione contemplatus, quasdem se Adamantum glebulas, quae sibi inutiles essent, mihi missurum recepit.

Nec multo post bina mihi mittit Adamantum fragmenta: item exiguum Adamantem ex arte quidem politam, sed sordidum uti vocant seu vitiosum.

Cum singula singulis microscopiis applicassem, primo fragmentum istud, quod in figura 3 per NOPQR denotatum est, delineandum curavi. Lineolae, quae per totum hoc fragmentum excurrunt, revera non sunt nisi lamellae; ex quibus Adamantes constare modo dixi: et apertius conspiciendas se praebant ad PQ.



Ceterum ut eorum, quae de hac Adamantis glebula sive frustula iam dixi; clarior atque distinctior sit perceptio; frustulum istud eadem prorsus magnitudine exprimi iussi, quam nudo delineatoris oculo, sine microscopii ope, offerebat: quae vera frustuli magnitudo, in icone 4, exhibetur inter ST. Istud autem tantillum frustulum ex tam multis tamque exiguis particulis compositum est; ut qui non videret, capere haud possit.



In altero Adamantis fragmento, quod eiusdem propemodum magnitudinis erat, lamellae dignosci poterant: et pars illius circiter quinta constabat quinquangulo tam polito, tamquam si ex arte laevigatum fuisset: nisi quod illi affixus esset perexiguus Adamas, qui circiter quartam quinquanguli partem obtegebat; et, uti clare visu agnoscebam, etiam ex lamellis, sive particulis lamellarum formam habentibus, concretus erat.

Quantum ad peroxiguum istum Adamantem; illum quidem ex arte politum, sed sordidum seu vitiosum esse dixi: sordidos enim vocamus, dum vel subflavi sunt, vel rimis aut

lineolis deformes: quamvis nonnulae huius adamantis rimae atque lineolae nudis oculis conspici non possent: imo, adhibito etiam microscopio, visum pene effugerunt.

Exiguus hic Adamas erat quadrangulus: prope unum istorum angulorum, intra ipsum Adamantem, varias vidi particulas ab invicem eiunctas; nisi quod aliquantulum sese attingere viderentur; quod initio insolens mihi visum est. Particularum istarum maxima coloris erat subflava, et altero circiter latior quam crassior: nec splendore cedebat vitro. Reliquis particulis variae erant figurae; nonnulis etiam par splendor ac primae: nec pauciores esse iudicabam quam viginti licet delineator tantum numerum non expresserit.

Iste conspectus hanc mihi persuasionem dixit, quo tempore materia, Adamantum productrix, vagabatur in aëre; exiguas illas particulas, quae itidem adamantes erant, priori quem dixi Adamanti adiacuisse: materiam autem adamantinam, quam diu talis materia aëri insedit, istam Adamantum congeriem paulatim circumvestisse, et minores Adamantes inclusissi maiori.

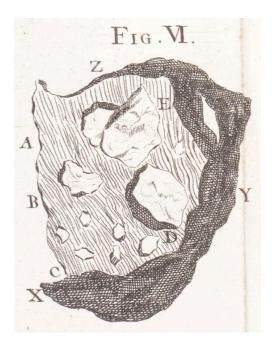
Qua occasione recordor complures habuisse Crystallos montanas figurae sexangulae: in quarum nonnulis quasi inclusae iacebant figurae quaedam perexiguae et oblongae, coloris subcoerulei; sed tam exiles ut, adhibito etiam optimae notae microscopio, vix agnosci possent.

Porro istius adamantis, quam vitiosum appellavi, veram magnitudinem delineari curavi; quam in icone 5 expressam habes inter V et W.



Deinde et perexiguos istos Adamantes, qui in maiorem Adamantem inclusi exhibentur in icone 5, seorsum delineandos curavi; quos in icone 6 designatos vides per XYZABC. Ubi per XYZ denotatur exterius Adamantis latus, quod licet ante politum, ope tamen microscopii conspectum, colorem tam fuscum praeferebat.

Per ZABCDE isti denotantur exilissimi Adamantes; quos in maiusculo Adamante velut inclusos latuisse praemonui.



Cum postea latus Adamantis in icone 5 expressi, cui longe minores adamantes inclusos fuisse mox dicebam, ad microscopium admovissem; Adamantem istum variis foraminibus pertusum esse comperi; quae ego foramina tunc factor esse censui, quando latus illud poliebatur. Ita nimirum ut exiguissimi quos dixi Adamantes loca illa prius insederint. Sed poliendo delapsi, foramina illa sive puteolos produxerint: quae foramina in icone 5<sup>3</sup> conspicua sunt inter FGH.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In the ms, the translator mistakenly wrote *icone 5* instead of *icone 7*.

Porro exiguum illum Adamantem, inter VW in icone 5 expressum, in latus suum verteram; et ubi crassiusculus erat, novaculam illi aptaveram; ut Adamantem ipsum ictu mallei diffinderem; quod tamen, licet iterato tentanti, non successit.

Adamantem, charta munda circumvolutum, imponebam malleo; et alio malleo crebrius tamen feriendo, diffregi. Postquam omnes diffracti Adamantis glebulas diversis microscopiis applicaveram; unam, quae plures quam reliquae lamellas oculis exhibere videbatur, delineatori effigendum tradidi; quae in icone 8 denotatur per IKLM. Haud tamen possibile delineatori fuit, eadem perfectione glebulam illam exprimere, qua sese oculis conspiciendam offerebat.



Cum autem microscopium, cui frustulum illud iconis 8 applicatum erat, diversum esset ab iis microscopiis; quorum ope alia Adamantia frusta delineari curaveram; delineator postremum hoc frustulum ea magnitudine expressit; quam sine microscopio conspectam offerebat: quae vero frustuli illius magnitudo in icone 9 exhibetur inter NO.



Quaedam ex his Adamantum fragmentis, ope microscopii considerata, iucundos praebebant conspectus: quos etiam nonnulis, talium rerum studiosis, exhibui. Illis autem iucundissimum erat, in uno Adamantis frustulo tam multiplices agnoscere partes: imprimis etiam quod lamellae, ex quibus Adamantes concreti sunt, in duobus Adamantum frustulis valde distincte possent internosci: nempe dum lamellae istae juxta ductam longitudinis oculis obiiciebantur.

Exinde studium meum converti ad examen Crystalli cuiusdam montanae, sex lateribus praeditae; cuius longitudo circiter respondebat latitudini duorum digitorum, crassitudo vera minori digito.

Crystallum istam in complura frusta confregi; et frusta microscopiis applicavi; disquirere volens num et illa ex superstratis sibi lamellis composita essent; qua ratione Adamantes magnitudinem suam adeptos esse dixi. Sed, tametsi perquisitionem istam saepius iteraverim, ne tantillam quidem lamellam in iis deprehendi. Istud autem in Crystallis, quas quidem prae manibus habebam, plerumque animadverti, in omnibus earum lateribus, quae numero sena erant, transversas protendi lineolas, alias aliis situ aliquatulam superiores; tamquam si illic, increscentibus Crystallis, ortae productaeque fuissent: qua super re, quantumque Crijstallorum numerum ante consideraverim, atque confregerim, numquam ipse mihi satisfacere potui.

[Et hae quidem sunt observationes meae circa Adamantem; quarum nonnulas illustribus Regiae Societatis Membris, tum etiam Eruditissime Domine Tibi, non omnino displicituras esse confido. Ceterum qua par est veneratione semper manebo.

Tum perillustrium quos dixi Dominorum, tum Tui ipsius Eruditissime Domine, Observatissimus Famulus

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

P.S. Nemo hactenus, post multam perquisitionem, indicari mihi potuit, qui scabie sit infectus.] <sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Het stuk tussen de rechte haken is niet afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

*Addressed to:* JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: The manuscript of the Latin translation of the letter, signed by L., is to be

found in London, Royal Society, Early Letters, L4.83, 12 quarto pages; 2 engravings. There is also preserved a copy of the letter in Letter Book

Original 15.78, p. 279, 12 pages.

#### PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1722: "De Particulis & Structura Adamantum. Epistola Domini Antonii Leeuwenhoek, R. S. Soc. ad Jacobum Jurin, M. D. R S. Secret", *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 December 1722), no. 374, pp. 199-206, 9 figures. – Almost complete text of the Latin letter.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 145. - Dutch summary.

#### SUMMARY:

In this letter, L. discusses the microscopic structure of diamonds and rock crystal.

#### FIGURES:

The records of the Royal Society indicate that this letter was accompanied by a single engraving with 7 images (Royal Society, Letter Book Original 15.78.1) and another engraving with figure 8 (Royal Society, Letter Book Original 15.78.2). However, figures 1-9 are to be found on the plate with no. 374 of the *Philosophical Transactions*.

## REMARKS:

In keeping with JURIN's request in Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.), in this volume, L. had this letter translated from Dutch into Latin before he signed and sent it. The translator was probably HENDRICK VAN RIJN, who earlier translated the *Send-Brieven* (1719) into Latin¹. His translation was read at the 20 December 1722 O.S. meeting of the Royal Society, Journal Book Original, vol. 13, p. 234, so no contemporary English translation was made.

The Latin title in the *Philosophical Transactions* translates to: "On the particles and structure of diamonds. Letter of ANTHONY LEEUWENHOEK, R. S. Soc. to JACOB JURIN, M.D.R.S. Secret."

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For VAN RIJN as L's translator, see the Preface, Collected Letters, vol. 18, n. 2. VAN RIJN was a bookseller at the Bagijnhof in Delft. When he died in 1732, he lived on the Oude Delft, near the Haverbrugge.

Delft in Holland, the 20th of November 1722<sup>2</sup>

#### Most learned sir:

Your letter, which you wrote to me on the 1st of October 1722<sup>3</sup>, was given to me in good time, and was very pleasant. I have, then, understood from this that my hypothesis on pocks<sup>4</sup> has found acceptance among you. Now I would like to inform you about my observations on a very different matter.

When I had ascertained by means of investigation that some metals, as well as sand itself, are composed of very tiny particles of the same matter, I turned my thought to the diamond, to wit, whether this also consisted of particles of that kind, which could in any case be observed with the help of the magnifying glass.

Therefore, looking at a certain small diamond<sup>5</sup> through the magnifying glass, I observed with my eyes several particles in that part of the diamond that had not been polished and lacked brilliance. I ascertained that the diamond was composed of small particles. But because this did not yet satisfy me, I decided to break the diamond to pieces, in order to observe it in its fragments.

Having, then, put the diamond on a hammer, I struck it time and again with another hammer. Struck in this manner, it sprang apart into four or five pieces. Because this did not yet satisfy me, and I wanted to pulverize the diamond, I folded one piece, which was larger than the others, into a double sheet of paper, so that no little bits of the diamond would get lost through their springing away.

Here I admired the hardness of the diamond, which, having been struck several times with great force, merely sprang apart into four or five fragments, without any grit.

I also put those ensuing pieces of the diamond in front of the magnifying glass. When I examined them thoroughly, I found that almost all of them were composed of very tiny particles. Now when I exposed those pieces to the rays of the sun, I saw some kind of little flame spring forth from them, and a larger one at that, than I had ever seen.

With my eyes, I noted one little piece that had the place of its fracture, which was flat and square, directly opposed to the sun. This place, as far as I judged it by sight, was equal in breadth to three or four hairs of a man's chin<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> L.'s previous letter to JURIN is Letter L-579 of 7 July 1722, in this volume. That letter and the two letters before it, Letter L-574 of 1 May 1722 and Letter L-577 of 13 June 1722, both in this volume, were cover letters for letters with scientific observations addressed on the same days to the Royal Society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This letter is lost. See Letter L-580 of 12 October 1722 (dated 1 October 1722 O.S.), in this volume

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In response to JURIN's request in May, L. had determined that there were no insects or other little animals in smallpox pustules. He reported his findings to JURIN in Letter L-577 of 13 June 1722 and Letter L-579 of 7 July 1722, both in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Although L. often used "diamond" as a metaphor, for example, calling something "diamond-like", he wrote directly about diamonds in only three previous letters, all addressed to the Royal Society: Letter 18 [12] L-026 of 14 August 1675, *Collected Letters*, vol. 1; Letter 246 L-416 of 1 February 1704, *idem*, vol. 14; and Letter 283 L-475 of 21 February 1710, *idem*, vol. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A hair of a man's chin is approximately 60-80  $\mu$ .

Such a mass of burning little flames arose from this little piece of the diamond that I judged them to be more than four hundred in number. Some of these little flames, but few in number, were united closer to one another, and larger than the others, from which I concluded that there those particles of the diamond were themselves also larger than other particles, or placed in a more orderly manner.

Thereafter, I turned my eyes to another piece of the diamond, of approximately the same size as the former one, which in a like manner received the rays of the sun directly. I found it to consist of as many particles of the tiniest size. From one part of that little piece, and that approximately one half of it, these forms of burning little flames also arose, but smaller in size. In the other half, some little flame was seen, constantly moving itself, with a kind of continuous glittering, which looked like rather feeble heat lightning.

For the rest, after I removed those little pieces of the diamond from the rays of the sun, still multiform kinds of things were presented to my eyes. Among other things, it seemed that from the separate particles of the diamond some little flame rose on high.

Then I had, moreover, nine little pieces of the diamond attached to the magnifying glass, and in seven of them I recognized those particles of which I have said that they threw out a form of little flames. In the two others, I could also recognize those particles of which I have established that the diamond is composed, but they had their level surface turned towards the sun in such a way that I perceived several particles simultaneously.

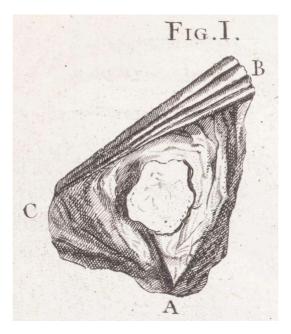
Now it was a very pleasant sight for me to observe so many figures of little flames, all of which displayed a flashing colour, and most of them a green one. However, what seemed to me unusual was that at the tip of some of the little flames such a motion and vibration was perceived in the air, as if there the little flame had grown so feeble that it ceased to be visible. However, I admired more than other things the fact that from such a particle of the diamond all around fire came forth, with a slightly reddish glow, as if we would see lightning flashing from afar. Indeed, this happened so often while I was looking, that I could not turn my eyes away, until eventually they became fatigued.

Yet I decided to enjoy such a pleasant sight more often and to leave that little piece of the diamond attached to the magnifying glass until it would fall from the glass of its own accord. For it was not attached to the glass with the help of some glutinous matter; save only that I had wet the glass with the moisture of my breath before I attached the piece of diamond to it.

Because I did not wish to be the only one to enjoy such an agreeable sight, I gave that which has been narrated just now to a certain  $N.^7$  to read, to whom I also handed the magnifying glass. And when after some delay I asked whether he did not find that everything agreed with my description, he answered that, to be sure, it agreed, and he avowed his admiration for the unusual spectacle.

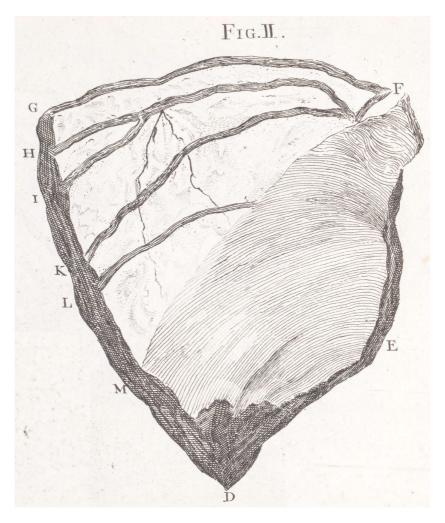
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 'a certain N' has not been identified.

Hereafter, when some little piece of the diamond was still standing before the magnifying glass, the particles of which, lying one upon the other in the manner of small layers, I could distinguish with my eyes, I thought that I would do something useful if I had those layers drawn. They are denoted here in Fig. I<sup>8</sup> with ABC.



Afterwards, I attached also another fragment of the diamond to the magnifying glass, the layers of which, being spread over one another, showed themselves most distinctly to my eyes. They are shown here in Fig. II by DEFGHIKLM. In this figure, however, those parts, or layers, that are denoted by FG, FH, FI, FK, and L seem to be rather thicker than the others. But indeed, those particles are composed of several layers, spreading over one another. Yet in that part of the fragment that I had represented between DEFM, very thin layers appear most distinctly. It must be taken for granted that the entire diamond has grown together from the accumulation of those.

<sup>8</sup> The figures labeled 1 through 9 in the Latin translation are labeled I through IX in *Philosophical Transactions*.



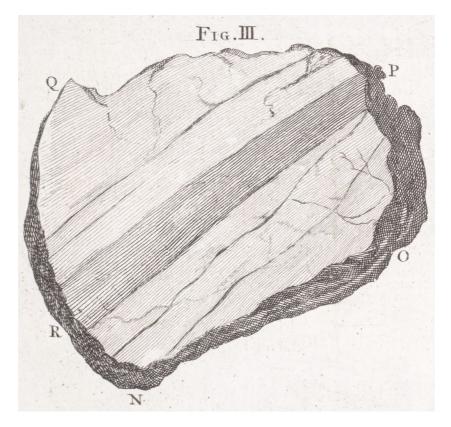
Before I had the second figure represented on paper, it happened that the well-known jeweler N. VERBRUGGE<sup>9</sup> passed by my house. I invited him to look carefully at the fragment of the diamond as it was attached to the magnifying glass. Observing that fragment, not without admiration, he promised to send to me some small lumps of diamonds that were useless to him.

And shortly afterwards, he sends me a pair of fragments of diamonds and also a small diamond that had indeed been polished according to the rules of the art, but which, as they say, was murky, or faulty.

When I had attached each of them to a separate magnifying glass, I had drawn first that fragment that is denoted in Fig. III with NOPQR. The little lines, which spread out throughout the whole of this fragment, actually are nothing but the little layers of

Probably ALEWIJN VERBRUGGE (1668-1737), a jeweler living on the Oude Delft, near the Wateringsepoort. He was a son of the Delft painter GIJSBERT ANDRIESZ. VERBRUGGE (1637-1730) and a member of the Delft goldsmith guild after 1691. See JANSEN, "De Delftse portrettist Gijsbert Andriesz. Verbrugge (1637-1730)".

which I have said just now that diamonds are made up. They show themselves more clearly at PQ.



For the rest, in order that the perception of those things I have already said about this little lump or piece of diamond may be clearer and more distinct, I had represented that little piece straightforwardly at the same size as it offered to the naked eye of the draughtsman, without the help of the magnifying glass. This real size of the little piece is shown in Fig. IV, between ST. Yet this very tiny piece is composed of so many and such small particles that anyone who does not actually see it cannot comprehend it.



In the other fragment of diamond, which was of nearly the same size, the little layers could be discerned. About a fifth part of it consisted of a pentagon, which was so polished as if it had been smoothed according to the rules of the art, save only that a very tiny diamond was attached to it, which covered approximately a quarter of the pentagon.

As I discerned, clearly to see, it had also grown together from little layers, or particles that had the form of layers.

With regard to that very small diamond, to wit, the one about which I have said that it was polished according to the rules of the art, but was murky or faulty, for we call them murky when they are either yellowish, or deformed by cracks or lines. However, it was impossible to see several cracks or lines of that diamond with the naked eye. On the contrary, even when the magnifying glass was used, they almost eluded the sight.

This tiny diamond was quadrangular. Close to one of those angles, within the diamond itself, I saw various particles separated from one another, save only that they seemed slightly to touch one another, which at first seemed unusual to me. The largest of these particles was of a yellowish colour and all around broader rather than thicker than another one. As to brightness, it did not yield to glass. There were various forms in the other particles. In some, the brilliance was equal to that of the first one. I judged that they were not fewer in number than twenty, although the draughtsman did not render that large number.

This view led me to the following conviction, that in the period when the matter that was to produce diamonds floated in the air, those very small particles, which were likewise diamonds, were lying against the first diamond I mentioned. This diamantine matter, as long as such matter was in the air, would gradually surround that mass of diamonds and include the lesser diamonds with the larger one.

On this occasion, I recall that I had several rock crystals of a hexagonal form, in some of which were lying, as it were, enclosed, some very tiny and oblong figures of a dark blueish colour<sup>10</sup>, but so thin that even if a magnifying glass of the best quality was used, they could hardly be discerned.

Furthermore, I ordered the true size to be drawn of the diamond that I have called faulty, which you find represented in Fig. V, between V and W.

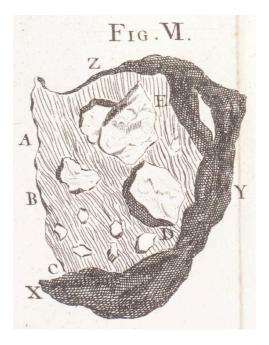


After that, I also had those very small diamonds, which are shown in Fig. V enclosed in the larger diamond, drawn separately, which you see depicted in Fig. VI with XYZABC. With XYZ is rendered the exterior side of the diamond, which, although polished earlier, showed such a dark colour when observed through the magnifying glass.

Those tiniest diamonds are shown with ZABCDE. I have reminded you before that they were hidden, as it were enclosed, in the larger diamond.

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<sup>10</sup> See Letter 259 L-439 of 25 May 1705, Collected Letters, vol. 15, p. 224, where L. describes the blue cristals of anatase within quartz.



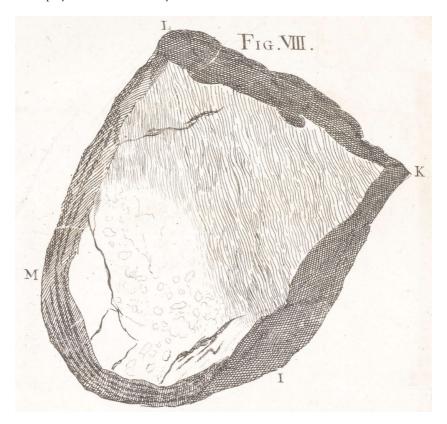
Afterwards, I put before the magnifying glass the side of the diamond, represented in Fig. V, of which I said just now that far smaller diamonds were enclosed in it. I found that that diamond was perforated by various openings, and I think that these openings were made when that side was polished. Doubtlessly, those very tiny diamonds I mentioned formerly were situated in those places, but when they had slipped away through the polishing, they created those openings, or little pits, which openings are visible in Fig. VII<sup>11</sup> between FGH.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In the ms, the translator mistakenly wrote *icone 5*.

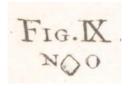
Hereafter, I turned that tiny diamond, depicted between VW in Fig. V, on its side. Where it was a bit thicker, I applied a sharp knife to it in order to try to cleave the diamond itself asunder by a stroke with the hammer. This, however, did not succeed, although I tried it a second time.

Therefore, I put that diamond, wrapped up in a clean sheet of paper, on a hammer, and I cleft it with another hammer, even so only by striking several times. When I had attached all of the little lumps of the cleft diamond to various magnifying glasses <sup>12</sup>, I gave one of them, which seemed to display to the eyes more layers than the others, to the draughtsman to depict it, which is shown in Fig. VIII with IKLM. It was not possible, however, for the draughtsman to render the little lump with the same perfection with which it displayed itself for one's eyes to see.



Now because the magnifying glass, to which that little piece of Fig. VIII had been attached, was different from those magnifying glasses with the help of which I had the other pieces of diamond drawn, he has rendered that last little piece at that size, which, viewed without the magnifying glass, is displayed to the eyes. The size, then, of that piece is shown in Fig. IX between NO.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> L. relates another instance of using multiple glasses in Letter L-566 of 20 November 1720 to the Royal Society, in this volume: "I had very many pieces of bone standing before magnifying glasses."



Some of these fragments of the diamonds, observed with the help of the magnifying glass, offered pleasant sights, which I have also shown to several persons who are interested in such things. It was very agreeable to them to perceive in a single piece of diamond such numerous parts; and also especially that in two of the little pieces of diamond, the layers from which the diamonds have grown together could be very clearly distinguished, to wit, when these layers were lengthwise offered to the eyes.

After that, I turned my endeavour to the examination of a certain rock-crystal<sup>13</sup>, furnished with six sides. The length of it was about equal to two finger breadths, but its thickness to that of the little finger.

I broke this crystal into several pieces and I attached the pieces to magnifying glasses, wishing to investigate whether they too were composed of layers spreading one over the other in the way I have said that diamonds acquire their size. Yet, although I repeated this investigation several times, I discovered not even the smallest layer in them. However, in crystals that I had at hand, I often noticed in all their sides, which were in each six in number, little lines extending crosswise, some situated slightly higher than others, as if they appeared and were produced there during the growth of the crystals. On this point, I have never been able to find satisfaction, however great the number of crystals I have previously observed and broken to pieces.

And these, then, are my observations with regard to the diamond. I trust that some of them will not wholly displease both the illustrious fellows of the Royal Society, and you, most learned sir. Further, I shall always remain with due veneration <sup>14</sup>,

Of the most illustrious gentlemen just mentioned and of yourself, most learned sir,

The most respectful servant

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

P.S.

Up until now, after many inquiries, it has not been possible to point out to me someone who is infected with scabies 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See for various observations on rock-crystal, Letter 259 L-439 of 25 May 1705, Collected Letters, vol. 15, p. 207-233.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> L.'s next letter to JURIN is Letter L-584 of 19 March 1723.

See Letter L-579 of 7 July 1722, in this volume, for L.'s earlier report to JURIN on his difficulty finding appropriate subjects to follow up on JURIN's request in Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May O.S.), in this volume.

Gericht aan: Antoni van Leeuwenhoek.

Geschreven door. JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Een eigenhandig geschreven en ondertekende kopie van JURINs Engels-

talige brief, bevindt zich in de Wellcome Collection, Londen, MS. 6143, 5

blz.

### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), brief 41.

### SAMENVATTING:

JAMES JURIN bedankt L. voor zijn meest recente brief over diamanten en vooral voor het verzenden van zijn eerdere brieven die al in het Latijn zijn vertaald. Hij presenteert in detail een methode voor het meten van microscopisch kleine objecten, zoals bloedbolletjes, en vraagt L. om te proberen zijn resultaten te repliceren met die meetmethode.

### OPMERKINGEN:

De datum is Nieuwe Stijl, elf dagen later dan de Oude Stijl-datum van 24 december 1722 die JURIN in Londen gebruikte. De spelling is door RUSNOCK gemoderniseerd.

Zie voor JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) en een overzicht van zijn briefwisseling met L. de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 in dit deel. Zie voor een volledige lijst van de briefwisseling tussen L. en JURIN, Bijlage 13, *Alle de Brieven*, Dl. 20.

# LETTER No. L-582

Addressed to: Antoni van Leeuwenhoek.

Written by: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: A signed autograph copy of JURIN's letter is to be found in London,

Wellcome Collection, MS. 6143, 5 pp.

## PUBLISHED IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), letter 41.

# SUMMARY:

JURIN thanks L. for his most recent letter on diamonds and especially for sending his recent letters already translated into Latin. He presents in detail a method for measuring microscopic objects, such as blood globules, and asks L. to try to replicate his results using that measurement method.

### **REMARKS:**

The date is New Style, which was eleven days ahead of the Old Style date of 24 December 1722 used by JURIN in London. The spelling has been modernized by RUSNOCK.

For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 in this volume. See Appendix 13, *Collected Letters*, vol. 20, for a complete list of the correspondence between JURIN and L.

24 Dec. 1722

Worthy sir1,

The particular honour you did me in your last letter, containing your curious observations upon diamonds<sup>2</sup>, was extremely agreeable to me upon many accounts. But especially I return you my most humble thanks for your great condescension in the regard you have shown to my desire of receiving your letters in Latin<sup>3</sup>. You have thereby freed me from the apprehension which before I was often under, of not taking the true sense of some parts of your letters, and it is with great pleasure, that I see your discoveries in this letter expressed with a perspicuity and an elegance worthy of the subject, and which could hardly be expected in any translation made here, because we could not have the opportunity of consulting you, in case of ambiguity.

I had the pleasure of entertaining the Royal Society with the recital of it, some days ago<sup>4</sup>, and am commanded by them to return you their thanks and acknowledgement for the many curious and accurate observations contained both in this and your letters of June 13th and July 7th, the translation of which I had communicated to them sometime before<sup>5</sup>. The former of these seems to me to sap the very foundations of the system of generation by means of the ovarium.

I take, sir, the liberty of communicating to you a method for measuring the diameters of very minute objects, as the blood globules, and which I happened upon some years ago, on occasion of reading some of your observations, in which you compare the magnitude of microscopical objects with the diameter of a hair of a man's beard, or a grain of sand<sup>6</sup>; which generally serves very well to give us a notion of the minuteness of the body you observe. But for some particular very nice observations, where one is desirous of knowing very nearly the exact magnitude of an object, this method is insufficient because the hairs of the beard or head, not only of different persons, but even of the same persons, differ very much in diameter one from another; and the same may be said of grains of sand, as nobody knows better than yourself. I choose therefore to make use of fine silver wire for this purpose, of which I cut off a small piece and lay it upon the plate of the microscope<sup>7</sup>, moving it with the point of a pin or needle, till it lies in a proper situation to compare its diameter with that of the object I would measure. But to know the diameter of my wire, I take any small cylindrical body, as for instance one of the long needles that

JURIN's previous letter to L. is Letter L-580 of 12 October 1722 (dated 1 October 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Letter L-581 of 20 November 1722, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.), JURIN asks L. to have his letters translated before sending them so that the translator would be able to directly ask L. to clarify any ambiguous wording.

<sup>4</sup> Letter L-581 of 20 November 1722 was read at the 20 December 1722 O.S. meeting of the Royal Society.

Dr. SPRENGEL translated Letter L-576 of 13 June 1722; it was read at the meeting of 8 November 1722 (O.S.). JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE translated Letter L-578 of 7 July 1722; it was read at the meeting of 15 November 1722 (O.S.). Both letters are in this volume. See Royal Society, Journal Book Original, vol. 13.

 $<sup>^6</sup>$  As L. used them, a *hair of a man's beard* is 60-80  $\mu$  and *a grain of common sand* is approximately 0.064 mm<sup>3</sup>.

In contrast to L.'s single-lens microscope, where the specimen moved and the lens stayed still, JURIN used a conventional double-lens barrel microscope that held the specimen still on a plate while the lenses moved above it.

women use in knitting, and I wind my wire a great number of times round it, taking care from time to time to push the several rounds of the wire close to one another with my nail, and observing with the help of an ordinary microscope that the rounds lie close together, and that none of them lies over the rest. When I have got a sufficient number of these upon my needle, as for instance enough to make half an inch or a whole inch, having all along kept account of the number of rounds I have laid upon the needle, I know thereby how many rounds, or how many diameters of my wire make an inch in length, and consequently what part of an inch is equal to the diameter of my wire. But to prevent any mistake, I take care to count the number of rounds again, as I unwind the wire from off the needle. When this is once done, my wire serves me as a basis for all the observations I ever make of this sort.

I send you enclosed a small quantity of a wire I measured after this manner, whose diameter I found to  $^{1}/_{485}$  part of the London inch<sup>8</sup>. I have observed that four of the globules of my blood lying together are nearly equal to one diameter of this wire, and consequently, that the dr [diameter] of a blood globule is nearly equal to 112,000 parts of an inch. You will do me a particular pleasure if you will be pleased to the repeat this experiment with the wire I send you, and not only upon your own blood, but that of other persons in sickness and in health and likewise the blood globules of other animals<sup>9</sup>. I had formerly made the same observation, but in a grosser manner, and had estimated the dr [diameter] of a blood globule to be  $^{1}/_{3240}$  of an inch, as may be seen in Phil. Trans. No.  $^{355}$  No.

It is not impossible that a number of observations of this kind may give us some farther light into the alterations made in the blood by diseases, at least it will either show the falsity, or confirm the truth of a notion entertained by some physicians of the breaking, or dividing the blood globules in fevers, and other diseases, especially when the blood ... of its self makes its way and breaks out at uncommon passages 11.

I am, with great esteem, honoured sir, Your most obliged and most humble servant,

> J. JURIN, R.S. Secr.

<sup>8</sup> A London inch is one present-day inch, as opposed to the inch measurements used at the time elsewhere in Europe, which were a little longer than one inch.

<sup>9</sup> L. followed JURIN's request and reported his results in Letter L-584 of 19 March 1723, in this volume. He too found that the width of four red blood cells equaled the diameter of JURIN's wire.

JURIN is mistaken about the number. Philosophical Transactions no. 360 has an article by him titled, "An account of some experiments relating to the specifick gravity of human blood." It begins, "It is well known from the observations of Mr LEEUWENHOEK and others, that human blood consists of red globular particles, swimming in a pellucid lympha, or serum."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> JURIN's next and last letter to L. is Letter L-586 of 6 July 1723 (dated 25 June 1723 O.S.), in this volume.

BRIEF Nr. L-583 19 MAART 1723

Gericht aan: de Royal Society.

Manuscript: Deze brief is alleen bekend door verwijzing in de antwoorden van L.

### SAMENVATTING:

L. schrijft een brief aan de Royal Society, inhoud onbekend, bij een brief in het Latijn aan JAMES JURIN die is uitgegeven in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

#### BRONNEN:

Brief L-584 van 19 maart 1723 aan JAMES JURIN:

Per hanc ergo occasionem observationem illam mitto, quam anno 1721 in sanguinem institui; et ab illo tempore ad transmittendum paratam habui. Hanc modo rogatu vestro latine vertendam curavi.

Brief L-585 van 31 mei 1723 aan de Royal Society:

Quam nuper, id est 19<sup>a</sup>. Martii 1723 ad Vos epistolam dedi, ad manus vestras pervenisse confido: quod et de alia spero, quam ad D. JURIN, Societatis vestrae Amanuensem, vestrae adiunxeram. Interim benevolentia vestra fretus, sequentes etiam observationes vobis commmunicandas esse duxi.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

De brief aan JAMES JURIN, secretaris van de Royal Society en redacteur van de *Philosophical Transactions*, is Brief L-584 van 19 maart 1723 in dit deel. In de archieven van de Royal Society is geen aantekening te vinden van een brief aan de Royal Society van dezelfde datum.

LETTER NO. L-583 19 MARCH 1723

Addressed to: The Royal Society.

*Manuscript:* This letter is known only by reference in L.'s replies.

### SUMMARY:

L. writes a letter to the Royal Society about blood, translated into Latin, that accompanies a letter in Latin to JAMES JURIN that was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

#### **SOURCES:**

Letter L-584 of 19 March 1723 to JAMES JURIN:

On this occasion, then, I send to you that observation of blood that I made in the year 1721, and which from that time onwards I had ready for sending. I merely ordered this, in accordance with your request, to be translated into Latin.

Letter L-585 of 31 May 1723 to the Royal Society:

I trust that the letter that I recently wrote to you, that is, on the 19th of March 1723, has come to your hands. I hope the same with regard to another letter, addressed to Mr. JURIN, secretary of your Society, which I had enclosed with yours.

## **REMARKS:**

The letter to Royal Society secretary and *Philosophical Transactions* editor JAMES JURIN is Letter L-584 of 19 March 1723, in this volume. There is no record in the Royal Society archives of a letter to the Royal Society of the same date.

BRIEF Nr. L-584 19 MAART 1723

Gericht aan: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Het manuscript van de door L. ondertekende Latijnse vertaling van zijn

brief bevindt zich bij de Royal Society, Londen, Early Letters, L4.84, 5 kwartobladzijden. Aldaar ook een kopie van de brief in Letter Book

Original 15.81, blz. 303.

#### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1723: 'De Globulorum Sanguineorum Magnitudine, &c. ex Epistola D. Antonii a Leuwenhoek ad Jacobum Jurin, M. D. R. S. Secr.' *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (30 juni 1723), nr. 377, blz. 341-343. – Vrijwel volledige tekst van de Latijnse brief.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE (1924): De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, blz. 146. – Nederlandse samenvatting.

### SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief bespreekt L. zijn microscopische waarnemingen van bloed en zijn berekeningen van de grootte van bloedlichaampjes. Hij bespreekt ook zijn gezondheidstoestand en vat zijn standpunt over de rol van de eierstok bij de voortplanting samen.

### OPMERKINGEN:

Overeenkomstig het verzoek van JAMES JURIN in Brief L-575 van 26 mei 1722 (gedateerd 15 mei 1722 O.S.) in dit deel, heeft L. deze brief uit het Nederlands in het Latijn laten vertalen, voordat hij hem ondertekende en verzond. Blijkens het handschrift was de vertaler dezelfde persoon die Brief L-581 van 20 november 1722 bewerkte, waarschijnlijk dus HENDRICK VAN RIJN¹. De brief werd in het Latijn uitgegeven in de *Philosophical Transactions*, dus werd er geen eigentijdse Engelse vertaling gemaakt.

De Latijnse titel in de *Philosophical Transactions* luidt in vertaling: 'Over de grootte van de bloedbolletjes, & c. uit de brief van D. Antonius van Leeuwenhoek aan Jacobus Jurin, M.D. R.S. secr.'

Deze brief werd voorgelezen op de vergadering van de Royal Society van 23 mei 1723 (O.S.). Zie Journal Book Original, Dl. 13, blz. 291: 'A Letter from Mr. Leeuwenhoeck concerning the magnitude of the globules of Blood in answer to a Letter from Dr. Jurin was read; & he was ordered Thanks.'

Zie voor JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) en een overzicht van zijn briefwisseling met L. de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 in dit deel. Zie voor een volledige lijst van de briefwisseling tussen L. en JURIN, Bijlage 13, *Alle de Brieven*, Dl. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Zie Brief L-581 van 20 november 1722 in dit deel.

BRIEF Nr. L-584 19 MAART 1723

Delphis 19 Martii 1723

Eruditissime Domine,

Quas 24ª Decembris 1722 ad me litteras, dedisti, accepi; ex iisque intellexi observationes meas circa Adamantes Regiae Societati adeo non displicuisse; ut approbationem suam tua opera mihi significari voluerit.

Adhuc]² ex tuis litteris intellexi inventam Tibi rationem esse, qua diametros globulorum sanguineorum, aliarumque minutissimarum rerum, certo cognoscere possis: adeo quidem ut deprehenderis diametrum globuli sanguinei cum parte ½ 1/1940 lati pollicis magnitudine convenire.

Hoc ego inventum cum legerem, summa voluptate affectus sum; statimque sic mecum ratiocinabar: si 1940 globulorum sanguineorum diametri lato pollicis longitudine respondent; adhaec si corpora instar globi rotunda, eam ad invicem proportionem habent quam habet numerus cubicus ad suum axem sicut a geometris traditur; sequitur corpus, quod ex 730138400 globulorum coniunctione compositur, haud maius esse corpore globioso, cuius axis latum pollicem longitudine adaequet.

Addam hic quod ex prioribus litteris tuis intellexerim, non stetisse per Societatem Regiam, quominus Epistolae meae ab aliquot annis insertae fuerint Actis Philosophicis; sed dominorum Amanuensium istam fuisse neglegentiam; qui Epistolas meas commemorare non curabant. Et hae quidem eo mihi aravius accidebat; quod tanto labore mihi constet observationes meas chartae committere, et ut vite delineentur providere.

Per hanc ergo occasionem observationem illam mitto, quam anno 1721 in sanguinem institui; et ab illo tempore ad transmittendum paratam habui. Hanc modo rogatu vestro latine vertendam curavi.

Et quia de examinando denuo sanguine me rogaveras; meum ipsius et duarum praeterea personarum sanguinem visu exploravi: planeque comperi diametros globulorum sanguineorum, uti scripsisti, convenire cum diametro fili argentei, quod mihi mittere dignatus es. Id solum dicere habeo quod globulos quosdam sanguineos, sed perpaucos, visu perceperim; quorum quaternae diametri diametrum fili argentei longitudine aliquatenus excedebant. Verum coniicebam globulos illos, quos ex pollice per acus punctionem eduxeram, et adhuc calentes vitro imponebam, a rotundidate figurae non nihil descrivisse ad figuram planam.

Hoc etiam addere habeo, praeterquam quod gravis mea senectus visui non incommodare non possit, oculum dextrum magno incommodo meo, aliquantum mihi caligare. Id vero hinc accidere puto, quod plures globuli sanguinei, in humore crijstallino innatantes, ante visum meum vagentur: quorum alii nullo vel confuso ordine inter se coniuncti; alii scorsum fluitantes, imaginem quandam nubeculae in oculo meo effigunt. Cum autem plerumque utar oculo dextro, sinistrum enim inter speculandum facile claudo, hinc obtusior mihi visus est quam esse solebat.

Haud ita pridem scilicet Ianuario nuper elapso, circa magnum illud et necessarium organum, quod diaphragma vocitamus, vehementi sum motu correptus: adeo quidem ut adstantes non parum turbarentur. Cum motus remitteret, et morbi illius nomen exquirerem, Medicus qui aderat cordis esse palpitationem respondit. Ego vero Medicum falli censebam: licet enim, durante motu, pulsum arteriae saepius manu explorarem, nullam pulsus accelerationem percepio. Vehemens ille motus, per intervalia reerudescens, tres circiter dies duravit: quo tempore stomachus mihi et intestina in officio motuque cessabant: mortemque pro foribus esse certissime credebam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Het stuk tussen de rechte haken is niet afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

BRIEF Nr. L-584 19 MAART 1723

Ego vero obstructionem in diaphragmate haerere iudicabam, non minorem nummo imperial[i].

Addis in Epistola tua, Praenobilis Domine, quod Ovarium exterminare studeam: ad quod salva pace respondeo, istum meum conatum non esse nuperum vel novellum, sed me ante 25. et amplius annos in illo evertendo laborasse, eoquod opinio, quae generationem ab ovario arcessit, mihi prorsus insulsa videatur. Ego a permultis modo annis tum aliorum Animalium, tum Avium atque Piscium, masculina semina examinare soleo: quod potissimum sub istud tempus quot annis facio, cum Pisces ova sua emittunt: Plerumque autem comperi semen masculinum innumerabili scatere copia exiguissimorum Animalculorum; ex iisque potissimum componi. Quare pro certo statui, minutissima illa Animalcula in istius generis Animalia, unde exorta sunt, crescendo evadere. Anguillus tamen, Squillas, et varias Pisces conchatos, et varias Muscas excipio; quae omnes sunt femellae, et fructus edunt, haec in parte convenientes cum fructibus Arboreis: quorum in seminibus Plenitulas delitescere comperimus, quae vice masculinorum seminum fructus iterum proferent, fructibus illis congeneres, ex quibus semina iam dicta exorta fierunt.

[Finem facio, et qua par est observantia manebo

Clarissime domine Addictissimus Tibi Famulus

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.] 3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Het stuk tussen de rechte haken is niet afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

Addressed to: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: The signed manuscript by L. of the Latin translation is to be found in

London, Royal Society, Early Letters L4.84; 5 quarto pages. There is also

preserved a copy of the letter in Letter Book Original 15.81, p. 303.

#### PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1723: "De Globulorum Sanguineorum Magnitudine, &c. ex Epistola D. Antonii a Leuwenhoek ad Jacobum Jurin, M. D. R. S. Secr." *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (30 June 1723), no. 377, pp. 341-343. – Almost complete text of the Latin letter.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 146. – Dutch summary.

#### SUMMARY:

In this letter, L. discusses his microscopical observations of blood and his calculations of the size of blood globules. He also discusses the state of his health and summarizes his position on the role of the ovary in reproduction.

### **REMARKS:**

In keeping with JURIN's request in Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.), in this volume, L. had this letter translated from Dutch into Latin before he signed and sent it. According to the manuscript, the translator was the same person who translated Letter L-581 of 20 November 1722, identified as probably HENDRICK VAN RIJN<sup>1</sup>. The letter was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* in Latin, so no contemporary English translation was made.

The Latin title in the *Philosophical Transactions* translates to "On the Size of the Globules of the Blood, &c. from the Epistle of D. Anthony from Leuwenhoek to James Jurin M.D. R.S. Secr."

The letter was read during the 23 May 1723 O.S. meeting of the Royal Society; Royal Society, Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 291: "A Letter from Mr. Leeuwenhoeck concerning the magnitude of the globls of Blood in answer to a Letter from Dr. Jurin was read; & he was ordered Thanks."

For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 in this volume. See Appendix 13, *Collected Letters*, vol. 20, for a complete list of the correspondence between JURIN and L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Letter L-581 of 20 November 1722, in this volume.

Delft. the 19th of March 1723<sup>2</sup>

Most learned sir,

I have received the letter that you wrote to me on the 24th of December 1722<sup>3</sup>. From this, I gathered that my observations with regard to the diamonds have found favour with the Royal Society, so much so that it expressed the wish that through your kind offices its approbation should be made known to me.

I have, moreover, understood from your letter that you have invented a way of calculating by means of which you can ascertain with certainty the diameters of the blood globules and other very minute objects, so much so, that you have discerned that the diameter of a blood globule corresponds in size to 1/1940 part of an inch.

When I read about that discovery, it caused me a very great joy. Forthwith, I reasoned with myself as follows: if 1940 diameters of blood globules correspond in length to an inch<sup>4</sup> and if, moreover, bodies that are round in the likeness of a sphere bear that proportion to one another that the cubic number bears to its axis, as has been said by the geometricians, then it follows that a body made from the uniting of 730,138,400 globules is not larger than a spherical body the axis of which equals the length of an inch.

I shall add here that I have understood from an earlier letter of yours that it has not been the fault of the Royal Society that for several years my letters have not been inserted in the *Philosophical Transactions*, but that this has been a negligence on the part of Messrs the secretaries, who did not take the trouble to make mention of my letters<sup>5</sup>. And indeed, this has hit me the harder because it costs me so much effort to put my observations down on paper, and to see to it that they are correctly drawn.

On this occasion, then, I send to you that observation of blood that I made in the year 1721, and which from that time onwards I had ready for sending<sup>6</sup>. I merely ordered this, in accordance with your request, to be translated into Latin<sup>7</sup>.

And because you asked me about again examining the blood, I examined by sight the blood of myself and of two other persons besides. I clearly saw that 4 diameters of blood globules, as you wrote to me, correspond with the diameter of the silver wire that you deigned to send to me. I say only this, that I have perceived by sight some blood globules, but very few of them, each four diameters of which somewhat exceeded in length the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> L.'s previous letter to JURIN is Letter L-581 of 20 November 1722, in this volume.

JURIN's Letter L-582 of 4 January 1723 (dated 24 December 1722 O.S.), in this volume, is about diamonds.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A Rhineland inch is 2.61 cm.

In Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.), in this volume, JURIN writes, "When the Society did me the honour to elect me one of their secretaries some months ago, among other papers delivered up to me by my learned predecessor Dr. HALLEY, I met with several of your letters to the Royal Society, which had never been translated for their use, & which consequently they had had no account of."

For this letter, see Letter L-583 of 19 March 1723, in this volume. This lost letter is known by reference in L.'s next letter to the Royal Society, Letter L-585 of 31 May 1723: "I trust that the letter that I recently wrote to you, that is, on the 19th of March 1723, has come to your hands. I hope the same with regard to another letter, addressed to Mr. JURIN, secretary of your Society, which I had enclosed with yours."

In Letter L-575 of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.), in this volume, JURIN attributes HALLEY's neglect to a lack of competent Dutch translators in London. He proposes to L. "whether it be not the better and surer way for preventing all mistakes, to cause your letters to be translated into Latin before they are sent over hither."

<sup>8</sup> See JURIN's Letter L-582 of 4 January 1723 (dated 24 December 1722), in this volume.

LETTER No. L-584 19 MARCH 1723

diameter of the silver wire. I conjectured, however, that those globules, which I extracted from my thumb with a needle and put on a glass while they were still warm, deviated somewhat from the roundness of their figure towards a flat figure.

I have also this to add, that apart from the fact that my burdensome old age cannot but hamper my sight, my right eye, to my great inconvenience, is becoming somewhat cloudy. Now I think that this happens because several blood globules, floating in the crystalline fluid, wander before my sight. Some of them (not being connected in any order, or merely in a confused one, whereas others are floating separately) create some image of a little cloud in my eye. Now because I mostly use my right eye, for I am apt to close the left one while observing, my sight is more obtuse than it was wont to be.

Not so very long ago, in the month of January that has just gone by, I was seized by a vehement motion in the region of that large and indispensable organ, which we are wont to call the diaphragm, so much so that the bystanders were very much alarmed. When the motion abated and I asked for the name of that illness, the physician who was present answered that it was a palpitation of the heart. Yet I thought that the physician was wrong. For although I frequently felt the pulse of the artery with my hand while the motion lasted, I did not perceive any acceleration of the pulse. This vehement motion, from time to time breaking out afresh, lasted for about three days, during which time my stomach and intestines ceased in their function and movement. I very firmly believed that I was at death's door.<sup>9</sup>

As for me, I believed that an obstruction that adhered to the diaphragm was not smaller than a golden ducat<sup>10</sup>.

In your letter, most noble sir, you add that I strive to do away with the ovary, to which I answer, if you do not mind, that this attempt of mine is nothing recent or new, but that I have toiled for 25 years and more to overturn it, for the reason that the view that makes generation come forth from the ovary seems to me utterly foolish<sup>11</sup>. Already for very many years I am wont to examine the male seeds of other animals as well as birds and fish, which I do especially at that time of every year when the fish spawn their eggs. Yet I have mostly found that the male seed abounds with a multitude of very tiny animals, and principally consists of them. This is why I postulate as being certain that those most minute animals by growing will end up as animals of that kind from which they have sprung. I except, however, the eels, sea-leaks, shellfish, and various flies, all of which are young females, and bring forth fruits, which in this respect correspond with the fruits of trees, in the seeds of which we find that little embryos lie hidden, which instead of male seeds, in their turn bring forth fruits of the same kind as those fruits from which the said seeds have sprung.

I shall end, and remain with due regards<sup>12</sup>

Most famous sir, your most devoted servant

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>9</sup> See LINDEBOOM, "De Ziekte van Van Leeuwenhoek" and LARNER, "Antony van Leeuwenhoek and the description of diaphragmatic flutter (respiratory myoclonus)".

The Latin nummus imperialis can be interpreted as follows. At the time, the only coin in the Dutch monetary system that still followed the standards set by the Holy Roman Empire was the gouden ducat (golden ducat), introduced in 1586 with the legend "Ad legem imperii" (according to the law of the Empire). This coin had a diameter of 21 mm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See RUESTOW, "Leeuwenhoek and the Campaign against Spontaneous Generation".

L.'s next letters to JURIN are his final two letters, Letter L-587 and Letter L-588 of August 1723, in this volume.

Gericht aan: de Royal Society.

Manuscript: Het manuscript van de door L. ondertekende Latijnse vertaling van zijn

brief bevindt zich bij de Royal Society, Early Letters L4.85; 12 kwartobladzijden; 1 gravure. Aldaar ook een kopie van de brief in Letter

Book Original 15.82, blz. 308, 11 blz.

#### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1723: 'De Structura Diaphragmatis. Epistola Domini Antonii van Leeuwenhoek, R. S. S. ad Societatem Regiam.' *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 oktober 1723), nr. 379, blz. 400-407, 7 figuren. Vrijwel volledige tekst van de Latijnse brief.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, blz. 146. – Nederlandse samenvatting.

#### SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief bespreekt L. zijn microscopische observaties van de structuur en textuur van het middenrif, de bron van zijn meest ernstige aandoening.

#### FIGUREN:

Dit is de laatste brief van L. met afbeeldingen. De originele tekeningen zijn verloren gegaan. De zeven cijfers die hier worden gebruikt, zijn afkomstig uit de *Philosophical Transactions*. De brief ging vergezeld van zeven figuren op een enkele gravure. Figuren 1-7 kunnen worden gevonden als Fig. II-VIII op de plaat bij nr. 379 van de *Philosophical Transactions*. Op het manuscript heeft iemand de figuurnummers 1 tot en met 7 van L. doorgestreept en vervangen (in alle gevallen behalve één) door de nummers 2 tot en met 8 om overeen te komen met de figuurnummers op de plaat. Om verwarring te voorkomen, zijn die nummers behouden, zowel in de hier gepresenteerde Latijnse tekst, als in de Engelse vertaling.

## OPMERKINGEN:

Deze brief werd in Latijnse vertaling naar de Royal Society gestuurd, ondertekend door L., en uitgegeven in de *Philosophical Transactions*. Er werd dus geen eigentijdse Engelse vertaling vervaardigd. Blijkens het handschrift was de vertaler een andere persoon dan degene die de eerdere Brieven L-581 van 20 november 1722 en L-584 van 19 maart 1723 in het Latijn vertaalde. Het handschrift van deze brief is echter identiek aan dat van de hierna volgende Brieven L-587 en L-588 van augustus 1723. Van deze beide brieven zegt de Delftse chirurgijn JOHANNES HOOGVLIET in Brief L-590 van 4 september 1723 dat hij deze brieven op L.'s verzoek in het Latijn vertaalde. Hij is daarmee ook de vertaler van deze brief. Zie voor HOOGVLIET, Brief L-576 van 13 juni 1722, noot 15, in dit deel.

Deze brief werd voorgelezen op de vergaderingen van de Royal Society van 3 en 20 juni 1723 O.S.; Royal Society, Journal Book, Dl. 13, blz. 297, 'Part of a Letter from Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was read and the rest refered to the next meeting' en blz. 300, 'The remaining part of a Letter from Mr. LEEUWENHOECK dated the 31st of May 1723 at Delft was read'. Het werd gevolgd door een samenvatting van de brief, eindigend, 'Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was ordered Thanks'.

De Latijnse titel in de *Philosophical Transactions* kan worden vertaald als 'Over de structuur van het diafragma. Brief van Antony van Leeuwenhoek, F.R.S. aan de Royal Society.'

Deze brief werd gevolgd door twee brieven die in augustus 1723 postuum werden verzonden. Geen van beide was ondertekend door L., dus de handtekening aan het slot van deze brief is zijn laatst bekende.

Delphis 31. Maii 1723

[Ad Praenobiles Dominos, Regiae Societatis quae Londini est, illustria Membra

Praenobiles Domini

Quam nuper, id est 19<sup>a</sup>. Martii 1723 ad Vos epistolam dedi, ad manus vestras pervenisse confido: quod et de alia spero, quam ad D. JURIN, Societatis vestrae Amanuensem, vestrae adiunxeram. Interim benevolentia vestra fretus, sequentes etiam observationes vobis communicandas esse duxi.]<sup>1</sup>

In epistola illa, quam ad Dominum JURIN perscripsi, paucis aperueram opinione in meam de morbo, qui nuperrima hyeme me invaserat: statuebam enim malam affectionem Diafragmatis originem morbo praebuisse.

Ut autem de hae Diaphragmatis affectione omnem mihi dubitationem eximerem, diaphragma ovis anniculae ad me deferendum curavi. Partem illius Diaphragmatis in minuta frustula confectam, ope microscopii qua potui diligentia consideravi: comperique diaphragma ex parte compositum esse ex tenuissimis fibrillis; quae sine microscopio conspector latum circiter capillum, inter se distant.

Cum deinde diversa diaphragmatis, frusta diversis microscopiis applicuissem, et visu diligenter examinassem, pro certo statui fibrillas illas ex partibus exoriri carnosis, quae Diaphragmati circa costas intexuntur. Easdem fibrillas Diaphragmati vice tendinum inferiore iudicabam. Tendines isti, sic mihi dicti, non sunt per totum Diaphragma aeque sibi vicim: alii aliis, quamvis sibi vicinis, sint aliquanto crassiores.

Cum autem et fibrillas modo dictas, et membranam inter fibrillas exporrectam, vite considerassem; animadverti diaphragma quantum ad ... maximam sui partem ex fibrillis istis, et membranae fibrillis interiecta, compositam esse: si tamen vasorum sanguineorum et copiosi adipis, quae diaphragmati magna copia insident, rationem modo non habeamus.

Membrana vero, inter tendines (ita mihi dictos) interiecta, tot rugulis exiguisve plicis scatebat, ut plicas obstupescerem istas autem rugas sive plicas ad hunc usum naturaliter destinatas esse credebam, ut diaphragma per aëris inspirationem extensum rursus contraherent: eaque ratione opem suam conferrent ad aërem, qui pulmones per inspirationem impleverat, inde expellendum.

Ut diaphragmatis contexturam oculis spectandam exponerem; exiguam diaphragmatis ovilli, modo dicti, portionem delineari, et in icone 2. per ABCDEFGH designari curavi. Ubi BG, CF, et DE, tres sunt tendines, ea magnitudine expressi, quam microscopium oculis exhibeat: qui tendines, ut iam ante monui, magnitudine non parum inter se different. Inter illos vero tendines membranam interiectam videmus; ex quibus tendinibus et interiecta membrana, diaphragma maximam partem compositum esse modo dicebam.

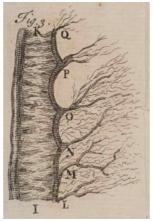
Ut autem de vera iconis 2 magnitudine iudicare possitis, delineatorem ut veram frustali delineati magnitudinem digito indicaret rogavi; qui mox spatium inter YZ in icone 5. commonstravit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Het stuk tussen de rechte haken is niet afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

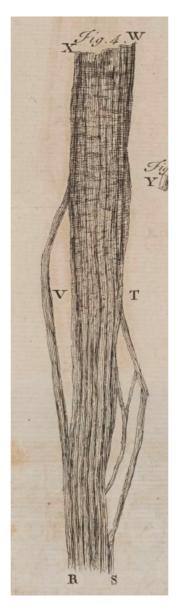


Ad haec membranam modo dictam permultis iisque exiguissimis foraminibus pertusam esse observavi, quae exiguissima foramina ab abdomine patebant in pectus et a pectore vicissim in abdomen. Cum autem fieri non posse hactenus, iudicaverem ut humor quisquam ex pectore delabitur in abdomen vel ex abdomine subvehatur in pectus; nunc satius mihi videtur, iudicium super ea ve meum suspendere: quin sic mecum differo: forte etiam pulmonibus nostris vascula insunt; incomprehensibilis exilitates. Quippe si cogitemus quantum humoris ex pulmonibus nostris per exspirationem educatur in aërem, prae exigua humoris copia quam inspirando ex aëre inferimus in pulmones: facile in sententiam Maris propendebimus.

Sed et hoc semel observavi quod fibrillas, quas tendines appello, vasa quaedam perrepant itinere transverso. In alio eiusdem diaphragmatis frustulo expressi, quod microscopium applicatum servabam, clare intueri licebat structuram exortumque membranularum; quas inter fibrillas, sive tendines sic mihi dictos, interiacere dixi. Membranulas illas permagno plicarum numero, ut etiam praemonui, instructas videmus: quae omnia in icone 3 exhibentur ad IK. Fibrillae vero, sive exigui tendines, de quibus modo differebam, in eadem icone designantur per LMNOPQ. Verum fibrillae istae sunt hic maiores, quam usquam mihi occurerint.



Praeterea membranam illam, ex qua diaphragma maximam partem constare dixi, quamvis tam tenuem, a se divelli: et exiguam avulsae partis partionem ope microscopii in icone 4 exprimendam curavi.



Quod eo consilio fecis, ut laceros tendines atque membranulas, quantum ars imitari naturam poterat, oculis subiicerem. Ergo, hic per RSTV particula indicatur tendinis extens: ubi et exilissimae exhibentur fibrillae, ex quibus prae dicta tendinis portio contexta est. In eadem icone per VT et WX portio designatur tendinis quiescentis.



Istud vero neque explicari neque satis comprehendi potest, quam incredibilis fibrillarum, vasculorum, et particularum numerus hic inter se conglomeretur; et ad tenuissimae membranae diaphragmatis inquam, formationem concurrat. Sic autem statuo, quoties validius inspiramus, omnes illas plicas sive sinuosas corrugationes in diaphragmate evanescere atque complanari: quoties autem exspiramus, diaphragma rursus in plicas rugasve contrahi: quod et superius notavi.

Dum igitur tantam adipis copiam in diaphragmate gigni et congregari videmus: praetereaque cogitamus substantiam diaphragmatis per adipem illum sic utrimque posse crassescere ut in tumorem extuberet; facile intelligimus diaphragmatis expansitionem atque contractionem ea ratione posse impediri atque pigrescere; atque hinc spirandi difficultatem consequi: ob, quam rationem homines obesos prae aliis anhelos esse iudicamus. Modico autem adipe diaphragma perfundi oblinique necessarium statuimus: cum enim diaphragma singulis horis nongenties expandi et nongenties contrahi necesse sit; motus illos per adipem magnopere adiuvari consemus.

Ceterim frequentiori indagatione explorare conatus sum qua ratione carneae diaphragmatis partes, quas cortis vicinas esse elixi transissent in membranam; sive qua ratione membrana diaphragmatis ex illis esset exorta. Verum licet indagationem illam crebrio fragmentarum, ipse mihi satisfacere non potui.

Nam et illa dubitatio me subierat, an non tendines, quos ego quidem sic voco, vasculi sint instructi. Et licet microscopio meo vix tantum tribuere auderem; tamen tertio post die indagationem iteravi, et tendines transverse dissecui: quando et illuc indagationem meam dirigebam, ut etiam in membrana diaphragmatis, quam rugosam esse dixi, sanguinea vasa requirerens. Tandem igitur successit ut sanguinea vasa secundum longitudinem tendinum protendi, is et imo octonos denosque invicem adiacere viderem. Inde ad membranam, quae tendines quasicircum vestit, oculos converti in eaque tam ingentem observavi numerum exilissimorum vasculorum, ut admiratione defixus haererem. Comptura istorum vasculorum velut areolis inclusa iacebant, quae tendinum transverse perfectorum vascula esse censebam. Ut autem eorum omnium, quae modo narravi, testem haberem ocularem; microscopium istud, cui dictas diaphragmatis particulas applicaveram, Chirurgo meo tradidi; qui dicta mea cum iis quae videbat examussim sim convenire respondit.

Hac tamen observatione non contentus, comparavi diaphragma bovillum, ex qua circa partes illius carneas, quot costis adiacere dixi, frustum circiter palmariam excidi: comperique diaphragma bovillum circiter quadruplo crassius esse ovillo et hanc crassitudinem maxima ex parte illius adipi acceptam esse referendum.

Exinde ex illa diaphragmatis portione lamellam, quam potui tenuissimam abscidi: quoties enim paulo crassiorum exfundebam, persecabam adipem, qui versus medium diaphragmatis protenditur; puto, ubi diaphragma satis est crassum, neque adipis expers. Diaphragma vero utrimque, id est superius atque inferius, quatuor distinctis constat membranis, earumque tendinibus; qui tendinei membrani veluti inclusi delitescunt.

Istorum autem tendinum ingens multitudo non poterat mihi non admirationem parere: neque satis credibile videbatur in corpore, cujus structura functionesque tam parum sunt cognitae, in diaphragmate inquam, tales tamque multiplices partes includi.

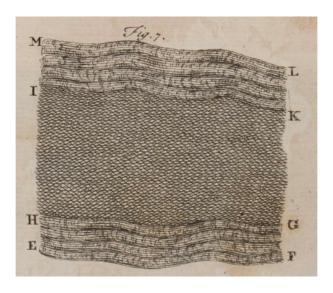
Ut diaphragmatis bovilli structuram oculis exponerem, partem illius in icona 6 ad ABCD exprimendam curavi ubi primo quatuor exhibentur partes distinctorum tendinum, qui magno numero invicem adiacent, et supra in diaphragmate ovillo etiam sunt exhibiti. Verum per integrum bovis diaphragma istiusmodi diffunduntur exiguissimi tendines, quos ego quidem sic appello. Et hos quidem tendines, una enim membranis, necesse est in vita constituto corpore sine ulla intermissione alternatim extendi atque contrahi, quae omnia in icone 6 satis accurate delineator expressit.



Tenuissimas illa fibrillas, uti et membranarum rugulas plicasve, per cerebram indagationem etiam ex voto meo deprehendi in diaphragmate ovillo; nec ipse tantum saepius cum voluptate consideravi, sed et aliis considerandas exhibui. Ceterum tendines illos, ita mihi dictos, et tenuissimas particulas transverse persecui; inquirere volens num forte sint perviae, et cavitatibus praeditas. Quando incredibilis exilitatis vascula tanto numero in oculos meos incurrerunt; ut, qui ipse non viderit, vix mihi sit habiturus fidem. Tum et ingentem percepi numerum exiguissimorum vasculorum, quae transverso itinere diaphragmas permeabant; et, quantum ego quidem sentiebam, ad hoc officium in natura destinantur ut adipem per omnes diaphragmatis partes circumferant, et ipsi diaphragmati continuum alimentam subministrent.

Superius modo dixi adipem in diaphragmate inclusum latere; et utrimque super adipem quatuor exporrigi membranas, inter se omnino distinctas. Addo membranas istas tam arcete sibi coniunctas esse, ut simplex esse membrana videatur.

Iam vero alteri microscopio, quod paulo minus quam microscopia modo dicta magnitudinem obiectorum augebat, frustum diaphragmatis mediocris crassitudinis admoveram quod eo spectabat ut demonstrarem qua ratione membranae partes diaphragmatis adiposas, sive ipsum diaphragmatis adipem, utrimque circumdent; adeo ut adeps in membranai illis includi videatur. Id autem in icone 7 indicatur per EFGHIKLM: ubi per EFGH, item per IKLM, duae istae quadruplices designantur membranae: in GE vero, et IK, adeps saepe iam dictas includitur.



Cum deinde tenuissimam diaphragmatis portionem, quae prae manibus erat, in orbes, conscinderere conarer, diaphragma in duas partes sive lamellas secessit: unde suspicatus sum diaphragma sic a natura comparatum esse, ut adeps eo facilius per diaphragmatis substantiam distribuatur.

In icone 7, ubi membranae transverse sectae exhibentur, quaedam exiguae apparent corrugationes, quas in iis plerumque percepi. Postea comperi membranulas, in quibus adeps coeundo praeducitur, exilissimis vasculis annexas esse; quae tamen vascula per contiguarum partium exsiccationem in diaphragmate iam dicta erant disrupta. Hanc ego membranularum et vasculorum connexionem ex eo capite necessariam existimo; ne diaphragma quoties extenditur; omnino complanetur; sed in cavitatem pene globosam sese expandat. Orte complures diaphragma sentient esse membranam apprime crassam; cum tamen sit membrana perexilis. Ut igitur hunc illis errorem eximam; frustulum diaphragmatis bovilli, sicut se nudis oculis offert, delineandum curavi. Istud tamen verum est, diafragma pro tenuitate sua esse oppido robustum: quod multitudini exilissimorum tendinorum, de quibus saepius egi, tribuendum esse statuo.

Igitur per NOPQ, in icone 8, frustulum designatur diaphragmatis bovilli: ubi per fibrillam NO unum latus, sive dimidia crassitudo, diaphragmatis bovilli indicatur: per PQ altera crassitudinis illius medietas exprimitur. Reliquum diaphragmatis, nempe quidquid inter OP et NQ interclusum est, adipo sive partibus adiposis est obsitum: nisi quod inter NQ nonnihil carnis interiacet, pertinent ad carnem costis adiacentem.



Igitur quo morbum antedictum, qui nupera hijeme me corripuit, et quem ego diaphragmati maxima ex parte imputabam, saepius in memoriam revoco et etiam saepius Medicos errare cogito, dum palpitationem, quam in pectoris regione quandoque percipimus, cordis palpitationem appellant. Certe ego tales palpitationes ex mala diaphragmatis affectione oriri censeo; sive affectionem illam producat alimenti defectus, sive vasorum quorundam efficiat obstipatio, quae diaphragma magno numero pervagantur. Talis enim obstipatio in antedictis tendinibus facile convulsivos motus excitare possunt; et hanc morbi mei ipsissimam fuisse causam existimo.

[Finem facio, et qua par est veneratione semper manebo

Praenobiles Domini Obsequio vestro addietissimus Famulus

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.]<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Het stuk tussen de rechte haken is niet afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

Addressed to: the Royal Society.

Manuscript: The signed manuscript of the Latin translation of L.'s letter is to be found

in London, Royal Society, Early Letters L4.85; 12 quarto pages; 1 engraving. There is also preserved a copy of the letter in Letter Book

Original 15.82, p. 308, 11 pp.

# PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1723: "De Structura Diaphragmatis. Epistola Domini Antonii van Leeuwenhoek, R. S. S. ad Societatem Regiam." *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 October 1723), no. 379, pp. 400-407, 7 figures. – Almost complete text of the Latin letter.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 146. – Dutch summary.

#### SUMMARY:

In this letter, L. discusses his microscopical observations on the structure and texture of the diaphragm, the source of his most severe ailment.

#### FIGURES:

This is L.'s last letter with figures. The original drawings are lost. The seven figures used here come from the *Philosophical Transactions*. The letter came with seven figures on a single engraving. Figures 1-7 can be found as Figs. II-VIII on the plate with No. 379 of the *Philosophical Transactions*. On the manuscript, someone crossed out L.'s figure numbers 1 through 7 and replaced them (in all cases except one) with numbers 2 through 8 in order to match the figure numbers on the plate. To reduce confusion, those numbers have been retained in this translation.

#### **REMARKS:**

This letter was sent to the Royal Society in Latin translation, signed by L., and published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. Thus, no contemporary English translation was made. According to the manuscript, the translator was a different person from the one who translated the earlier Letters L-581 of 20 November 1722 and L-584 of 19 March 1723 into Latin. However, the handwriting of this letter is identical to that of the following Letters L-587 and L-588 of August 1723. Of these two letters, the Delft surgeon JOHANNES HOOGVLIET says in Letter L-590 of 4 September 1723 that he translated these letters into Latin, on L.'s request. He is therefore also the translator of this letter. For HOOGVLIET, see Letter L-576 of 13 June 1722, note 11, in this volume.

The letter was read during the 3 June and 20 June 1723 (O.S.) meetings of the Royal Society; Royal Society, Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 297, "Part of a Letter from Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was read and the rest refered to the next meeting" and p. 300, "The remaining part of a Letter from Mr. LEEUWENHOECK dated the 31st of May 1723 at Delft was read." It was followed by a summary of the letter, ending, "Mr. LEEUWENHOECK was ordered Thanks." The Latin title in the *Philosophical Transactions* translates to "On the Structure of the Diaphragm. Letter of Antony van Leeuwenhoek F.R.S. to the Royal Society."

This letter was followed by two letters sent posthumously in August 1723. Neither of them was signed by L., so the signature at the end of the present letter is his last known.

Delft, the 31st of May 17231

To the most noble gentlemen honourable fellows of the Royal Society in London.

Most noble sirs,

I trust that the letter that I recently wrote to you, that is, on the 19th of March 1723, has come to your hands. I hope the same with regard to another letter, addressed to Mr. JURIN, secretary of your Society, which I enclosed with yours<sup>2</sup>. In the meantime, putting my trust in your goodwill, I think that the following observations should be imparted to you.

In that letter, which I wrote to Mr. JURIN, I disclosed in a few words my opinion on the illness that attacked me last winter; for I decided that a disorder of the diaphragm was the cause of the illness.

In order, then, to remove all my doubts on this disorder of the diaphragm, I had the diaphragm of a year-old sheep brought to me. I observed a part of that diaphragm, cut into minute parts, with the help of the magnifying glass, as carefully as I could. I found that the diaphragm was partially composed of very fine little fibres, which, when viewed without the magnifying glass, are about a hair's breadth distant from one another<sup>3</sup>.

When thereafter I attached various pieces of the diaphragm to various magnifying glasses and diligently examined them by looking, I became certain that those little fibres originated from the fleshy parts that are interwoven with the diaphragm close to the ribs. I judged that those same little fibres serve as tendons for the diaphragm. Those tendons, as I have called them, are not equally close to one another throughout the entire diaphragm. Some of them, although others are close to them, are somewhat thicker than the latter.

Now when I duly observed the little fibres just mentioned and the membrane that spreads between the fibres, I perceived that for much of its largest part, the diaphragm consists of those little fibres and the membrane lying between the fibres, provided that we do not reckon with the blood vessels and the great amount of fat that are present in the diaphragm in a large quantity.

Now the membrane lying between what I have called "tendons4" abounded with so many little wrinkles and minute folds that I was almost stupefied. I believed, however, that those wrinkles, or folds, are by nature destined for the purpose that they would again contract the diaphragm after it was extended by the intake of breath. In that way, they would contribute their power to expel out of them the air that had filled the lungs by the intake of breath.

In order to display the structure of the diaphragm for one's eyes to see, I had depicted a small part of that diaphragm of a sheep, mentioned just now, and designated it in Fig. 2 with ABCDEFGH, where BG, CF, and DE are three tendons, depicted at that size that the magnifying glass shows to one's eyes. These tendons, as I have pointed out already before, differ rather much from one another in size. Between these tendons, then, we see the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> L.'s previous letter to the Royal Society is the lost Letter L-583 of 19 March 1723, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Letter L-583 of 19 March 1722 to the Royal Society is known only by this reference.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A hair from the head is 60-80  $\mu$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Latin: tendines. For L.'s use of the term, see Letter L-548 [XXXIII] of 6 March 1717, Collected Letters, vol. 18, note 2.

membrane lying. I have said just now that the diaphragm consists for the most part of these tendons and the membrane lying between them.

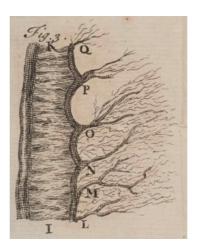
Yet I asked the draughtsman to indicate with an inch<sup>5</sup> the real size of the depicted little piece, so that you will be able to form an opinion on the real size of Fig. 2. He has shown the space distinctly in Fig. 5 between YZ.



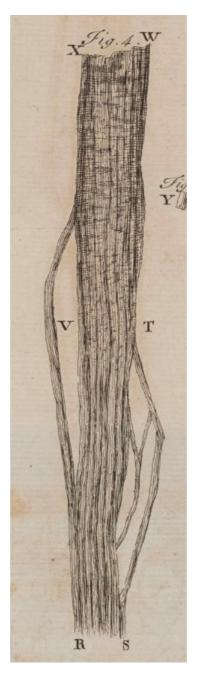
Moreover, I observed that the membrane just mentioned was perforated with very many openings, and exceedingly small ones at that, which exceedingly small openings opened from the abdomen into the thorax, and conversely from the thorax into the abdomen. Whereas up to now I had judged that it could not happen that any fluid whatsoever will trickle down from the thorax into the abdomen, or from the abdomen will be conveyed upwards into the thorax, now it seems better to me to suspend my opinion on this matter. Indeed, I argue with myself as follows: perhaps there are also vessels in our lungs of an incomprehensible thinness. To be sure, if we would recall how much moisture is conveyed into the air from our lungs through breathing out, compared to the small amount of moisture that we bring from the air into our lungs through the intake of breath, we shall easily incline towards that view.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A Rijnland inch is 2.61 cm. Despite L.'s statement, this "inch" is not reproduced in Fig. 2.

But more than once, I observed that some vessels creep through the little fibres, which I call tendons, in a crosswise direction. In another little piece of the same diaphragm, which I had preserved attached to a magnifying glass, it was possible to see clearly the structure and origin of the little membranes of which I have said that they lie between the fibres, or, as I have called them, tendons. We see that these little membranes are provided with a very great number of folds, as I have also noted before, all of which are shown in Fig. 3 at IK. The little fibres, or minute tendons, which I discussed just now, are shown in the same figure with LMNOPQ. Yet these little fibres are larger here than they have anywhere presented themselves to me.



Moreover, I tore apart that membrane of which I have said that the diaphragm consists for the most part, although it is so thin. I had a small portion of the torn-off part depicted in Fig. 4, with the help of the magnifying glass.



I did this with the intent to put before one's eyes the torn tendons and little membranes, as far as art was able to imitate nature. Here, then, a small part of an extended tendon is represented by RSTV, where the very thin little fibres are also shown from which the portion of the above-mentioned tendon has been joined together. In the same figure, a portion of a tendon at rest is depicted by VT and WX.



A fact that can be neither explained nor sufficiently grasped is this: what an incredible number of fibres, vessels, and particles conglomerate here and, I assert, come together for the formation of the exceedingly thin membrane of the diaphragm. In this way I conclude, then, that as often as we take a rather deep breath, all those folds, or curving wrinkles, disappear and are levelled out. On the contrary, as often as we breathe out, the diaphragm again contracts into folds or wrinkles, which I have also noted previously<sup>6</sup>.

Whereas we see that such a great amount of fat comes into being and assembles in the diaphragm and moreover take into account that the substance of the diaphragm through that fat can thicken so much on both sides that it swells out into a tumor, then we easily understand that in this way the expansion and contraction of the diaphragm may be hampered and become sluggish. From this, a difficulty of breathing ensues. We judge that from this cause, fat people are more short-winded than others. Yet we conclude that it is necessary that the diaphragm is besprinkled and covered with a moderate amount of fat because it is requisite that in each single hour the diaphragm expands nine hundred times and contracts nine hundred times. We are of the opinion that those motions are greatly assisted by the fat.

For the rest, I tried to discover by means of a rather often repeated investigation in what manner the fleshy parts of the diaphragm, of which I have said that they are close to the ribs, passed over into the membrane or in what manner the membrane of the diaphragm originated from them. However, although I often repeated this investigation, I have not been able to obtain satisfactory results.

For this doubt also suggested itself to me, whether the tendons, as I, at any rate, call them, are not equipped with little vessels. Although I hardly dared attribute so much to my magnifying glass, yet after the third day I repeated my investigation and dissected the tendons crosswise. Then I focused my investigation also on this point, that I searched for blood vessels in the membrane of the diaphragm as well, of which I have said that it was wrinkled. Eventually, then, it was accomplished that I saw that blood vessels were extended along the length of the tendons, and indeed were lying against one another in bundles of eight and ten. Thenceforward, I turned my eyes towards the membrane, which, as it were, wraps around the tendons, and I observed in that such an enormous number of very tiny vessels that I remained motionless through admiration. Several of those vessels were lying, as it were, surrounded by little open places, which I judged to be vessels of tendons, which had been cut across. Now in order to have an eyewitness of all these things which I have narrated just now, I handed that magnifying glass, to which I had attached the said particles of the diaphragm, to my surgeon?; who answered that my words exactly corresponded with the things he saw.

Not content, however, with this observation, I compared the diaphragm of a cow, out of which I cut a piece of about a hand's breadth in the region of its fleshy parts, which, I have said, lie against the ribs. I found that the cow's diaphragm was approximately four times thicker than that of a sheep, and that this thickness for the most part was to be ascribed to the fat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Indeed, L. wrote about the diaphragm only in passing in four other letters: Letter 18 [12] L-026 of 14 August 1675, *idem*, vol. 1; Letter 72 [38] L-128 of 16 July 1683, *idem*, vol. 4; Letter 122 [74] L-220 of 12 August, 1692, *idem*, vol. 9; and Letter 265 L-448 of 1 June 1706, *idem*, vol. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Not identified, but probably ABRAHAM VAN BLEYSWIJK.

Then I cut off a layer from that part of the diaphragm as thin as I could, because as often as I cut it somewhat thicker, I cut through the fat that extends towards the middle of the diaphragm, namely where the diaphragm is rather thick, and not devoid of fat. The diaphragm, to be sure, consists on both sides, that is, on top and on the underside, of four separate membranes and their tendons, which tendons are lying hidden, as it were enclosed by the membranes.

Now the enormous multitude of those tendons could not but give rise to my admiration. It seemed hardly credible that in a substance, the structure and actions of which are so little known - I refer to the diaphragm - such and so manifold parts are enclosed.

In order to display the structure of a cow's diaphragm to the eyes, I gave order to represent a part of it in Fig. 6 with ABCD, where, firstly, four parts are shown of separate tendons, which lie in a great number close to one another and which are also shown above this in the diaphragm of a sheep. But very tiny tendons, as I call them, of that kind are scattered through the entire diaphragm of a cow. And it is certainly indispensable that these tendons, together with the membranes in a healthy body, alternately extend and contract without any interruption, all of which the draughtsman has rendered in Fig. 6 with sufficient accuracy.

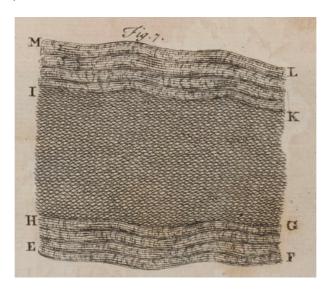


Through a frequent investigation I also, in accordance with my wish, discovered these very thin little fibres, as well as the wrinkles or folds, in the sheep's diaphragm. I not only myself observed this rather often with pleasure, but I also displayed them to the observation of other people. For the rest, I cut crosswise through these tendons, as I call them, and the very thin particles, wishing to investigate whether perhaps they might be passable and provided with cavities. Then little vessels of an unbelievable thinness met my eyes, and in such a great number that whoever did not see it for himself would scarcely believe me. At that time, I also perceived an enormous number of very small vessels, which permeated the diaphragm crosswise. As far as I, at any rate, could see, they are destined for

this task by nature, that they convey the fat around all parts of the diaphragm and provide continuous nourishment for the diaphragm itself.

Just now in the above, I said that the fat is hidden, enclosed in the diaphragm, and that on both sides, on top of the fat, four membranes extend, wholly separate from one another. I add that those membranes are so closely joined to each other that it seems to be a single membrane.

Now, however, I put a piece of moderate thickness of the diaphragm in front of another magnifying glass, which enlarged the size of the things put before it slightly less than the above-mentioned magnifying glasses. The aim of this was that I would indicate in what manner the membranes on both sides wrap around the fattish parts of the diaphragm, or the fat itself of the diaphragm, so much so, that the fat seems to be enclosed in these membranes. Now this is represented in Fig. 7 with EFGHIKLM, where with EFGH, and also with IKLM two of those four-fold membranes are depicted. By GH and IK, however, the fat, already often mentioned, is enclosed.



When thereafter I tried to tear a very thin part of the diaphragm, which was at hand, into round pieces, the diaphragm separated into two parts, or layers. I supposed that the diaphragm was fashioned by nature in this way in order that the fat could more easily be distributed through the substance of the diaphragm.

In Fig. 7, where the membranes that were cut crosswise are shown, some small wrinklings are visible, which I very often perceived in them. Hereafter I found that the little membranes, in which the fat by assembling is brought forth, are connected by very thin little vessels. However, these little vessels had broken apart through the drying-up of the neighbouring parts in the diaphragm, already mentioned. I judge that this link between the little membranes and vessels is indispensable because the diaphragm, as often as it extends, is not wholly flattened out, but expands itself into an almost spherical cavity. Perhaps many people think that the diaphragm is an exceedingly thick membrane, whereas, on the contrary, it is a very thin membrane. In order, then, to remove this error among them, I had depicted a little piece of a cow's diaphragm, as it presents itself to the naked eye. This is true, however, that in proportion to its thinness, the diaphragm is very strong. I am convinced that this should be attributed to the multitude of very thin tendons, which I have frequently discussed.

With NOPQ in Fig. 8, then, the little piece of the cow's diaphragm is depicted, where one side, or half of the thickness of the cow's diaphragm, is rendered by the little fibre NO; by PQ, the other half of that thickness is depicted. The rest of the diaphragm, to be sure, whatever is enclosed between OP and NQ, is beset by fat, or by fattish parts, save only that between NQ some flesh is lying, which extends towards the flesh lying against the ribs.



Wherefore, then, I frequently call to mind the aforementioned illness that attacked me last winter, and which I attributed for the most part to the diaphragm. I also think rather often that the physicians are wrong when they call the palpitation, which we sometimes feel in the region of the breast, a palpitation of the heart. I, at any rate, think that such palpitations arise from a bad disposition of the diaphragm, whether it is a failing of nourishment that produces that disposition, or it is effected by a blockage of certain vessels, which meander in a great number through the diaphragm. For such a blockage in the aforementioned vessels can easily give rise to convulsive motions, and I judge that this has been the very cause of my illness.

I conclude, and shall always remain, with due veneration8,

Very noble sirs,

The servant wholly devoted to your allegiance,

ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

<sup>8</sup> This is L.'s final letter to the Royal Society. The two letters dated August 1723, Letter L-587 and Letter L-588, were addressed to JAMES JURIN.

BRIEF Nr. L-586 6 JULI 1723

Gericht aan: Antoni van Leeuwenhoek.

Geschreven door. JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Een eigenhandig geschreven en ondertekende kopie van JURINs Engels-

talige brief, bevindt zich in de Wellcome Collection, Londen, MS 6143, 4

blz.

#### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: *The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750)*, (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), brief 75.

## SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief introduceert JURIN een heer RAPER, die de brief bezorgt, als iemand die getuige zou willen zijn van enkele observaties van L. JURIN bedankt L. voor zijn waarnemingen over de grootte van bloedbolletjes en vraagt L. om ze verder te bestuderen. Hij merkt op dat het werk van L. leidde tot een nieuwe generatietheorie, maar dat anatomen zijn waarnemingen gebruikten om de oude theorie te ondersteunen. Hij gaat kort in op de gezondheid van L.

## OPMERKINGEN:

De datum is Nieuwe Stijl, elf dagen later dan de Oude Stijl-datum van 25 juni die JURIN in Londen gebruikte. De spelling is door RUSNOCK gemoderniseerd.

Dit is de laatste brief van JURIN aan L., die twee maanden later overleed. Zijn vorige brief aan L. is Brief L-582 van 4 januari 1723 (gedateerd 24 december 1722 O.S.), in dit deel.

Zie voor JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) en een overzicht van zijn briefwisseling met L. de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 in dit deel. Zie voor een volledige lijst van de briefwisseling tussen L. en JURIN Bijlage 13, *Alle de Brieven*, Dl. 20.

LETTER No. L-586 6 JULY 1723

Addressed to: Antoni van Leeuwenhoek.

Written by: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: A signed autograph copy of JURIN's English letter is to be found in

London, Wellcome Collection, MS 6143, 4 pp.

## PUBLISHED IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed., 1996: *The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750)*, (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), letter 75.

## SUMMARY:

In this letter, JURIN introduces a Mr RAPER, delivering the letter, as someone who would like to witness some of L.'s observations. JURIN thanks L. for his observations on the size of blood globules and asks L. to study them further. He remarks that L.'s work has led to a new theory of generation, but that anatomists were using his observations to support the old theory. He briefly discusses L.'s health.

#### **REMARKS:**

The date is New Style, which was eleven days ahead of the Old Style date of 25 June 1723 used by JURIN in London. The spelling is modernized by RUSNOCK.

This is the last letter from JURIN to L., who died two months later. His previous letter to L. is Letter L-582 of 4 January 1723 (dated 24 December 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) and an overview of his correspondence with L., see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 in this volume. See Appendix 13, *Collected Letters*, vol. 20, for a complete list of the correspondence between JURIN and L.

LETTER NO. L-586 6 JULY 1723

Crane Court London

June 25th 17231

As my worthy and very particular friend, Mr RAPER<sup>2</sup>, from whose hands you receive this, was going for Holland and was curious of waiting upon you, and being an eyewitness of some of your curious observations; it was upon his account, that I deferred replying to the letter you were pleased to honour me with of the 19 of March last<sup>3</sup>, as likewise to that of Jan. 1721 directed to the Royal Society<sup>4</sup>. In this interim your letter to the Society of May 31st 1723<sup>5</sup> came to my hands.

I need not tell you, sir, that all these letters were kindly received by the Royal Society, that they ordered their solemn thanks to you to be recorded in their Journals<sup>6</sup>, and to be returned by their Secretary, since the constant marks of esteem and affection, which they have paid you for upwards of fifty years, must have abundantly convinced you, that notwithstanding the perpetual succession of different members, that the sentiments of the body with regard to Mr LEEUWENHOEK can never alter.

I am very much obliged to you, for the trouble you have been pleased to take in examining my observation about the magnitude of the blood globules which I am glad to find confirmed by your determination<sup>7</sup>.

This I look upon to be no indifferent or unuseful speculation since it is not impossible but that observing the magnitude of the blood globules in different animals together with that of the minute vessels, particularly in the lungs, may some time or other lead us to discover, where, and by what means these globules are formed, and why they keep to one determinate bigness in the same animal. This, sir, is an inquiry not unworthy of your pursuit, as well as what you have the best title to, these globules being one of the great discoveries, for which the world is indebted to your indefatigable diligence and penetration.

By a passage in your last, I find, I was not so happy in speaking of the ovarium, as to express myself with sufficient clearness to be understood<sup>8</sup>. I have long ago acquainted myself

JURIN's previous letter to L. is Letter L-582 of 4 January 1723 (dated 24 December 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It is unclear whether it was the father or the son named MATTHEW RAPER who is meant in this letter. The father, MATTHEW RAPER (1680-1748), was a businessman involved with the East India Company and the importing of Chinese silks. His son MATTHEW RAPER JUNIOR was born in 1705. That would have made him 18 when he was introduced to L. He became an astronomer, mathematician, director of the South Sea Company, and, after 1754, a fellow of the Royal Society. He died in 1778. For a complete list of known visitors to L's house, see Appendix 16, Collected Letters, vol. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The lost Letter L-584 of 19 March 1723, in this volume.

L. addressed two letters to the Royal Society in January of 1721, both in this volume. Letter L-567 of 15 January 1721 was read during the meeting of the Royal Society of 16 May 1723 O.S. Letter L-568 of 24 January 1721 was not read at any meeting noted in the Society's Journal Book, vol. 13. The letters were sent while EDMOND HALLEY was still editor of the *Philosophical Transactions*. As JURIN notes in his Letter L-575 to L. of 26 May 1722 (dated 15 May 1722 O.S.), in this volume, "When the Society did me the honour to elect me one of their secretaries some months ago, among other papers delivered up to me by my learned predecessor Dr. HALLEY, I met with several of your letters to the Royal Society, which had never been translated for their use, and which consequently they had had no account of."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Letter L-585 of 31 May 1723, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Royal Society, Journal Book Original, vol. 13, 1720-1726.

JURIN raises this question in Letter L-582 of 4 January 1723 and L. responds in Letter L-584 of 19 March 1723, in this volume.

LETTER No. L-586 6 JULY 1723

with your curious observations and sentiments about generation, which I look upon to be the most solid and instructive of anything, that has been published upon that subject. You had thereby entirely overthrown the old doctrine of generation, but you are not ignorant, that some eminent late anatomists have founded a new system upon the basis of your discoveries, and have maintained that an ovum is the proper Nidus, wherein the *animalculum in semine masculino* is lodged and nourished, and that the ovum thereby impregnated, is afterwards detached from the ovarium, and is conveyed thro' the Fallopian tube into the uterus<sup>9</sup>.

This is the doctrine of the ovarium, of which I said, that your late observations seemed to sap and overthrow the very foundation. I am very glad to find you are so well recovered from your late illness, which I think, you rightly judged not to consist in the palpitation of the heart from the regularity of your pulse, but rather to be seated in the diaphragm<sup>10</sup>. I heartily wish the continuance of your health for still many years, to the advancement of learning and philosophy which owe so much to your observations<sup>11</sup>.

I am, learned sir your most faithful humble servant

J. JURIN

<sup>8</sup> In Letter L-584 of 19 March 1723, in this volume, addressed to JURIN, L. writes, "In your letter, most noble sir, you add that I strive to do away with the ovary, to which I answer, if you do not mind, that this attempt of mine is nothing recent or new, but that I have toiled for 25 years and more to overturn it, for the reason that the view which makes generation come forth from the ovary seems to me utterly tasteless."

<sup>9</sup> For L.'s views on generation, see RUESTOW, "Leeuwenhoek and the Campaign against Spontaneous Generation" and COBB, The Egg and Sperm Race.

In Letter L-538 [XXVII] of 17 September 1716, Collected Letters, vol. 18, L. describes this ailment, which he attributes to a problem with his diaphragm. In two letters, he follows up with microscopical examination of a sheep's diaphragm to discover what could be the cause of his own ailment. See Letter L-584 of 19 March 1723 and Letter L-585 of 31 May 1723, both in this volume.

<sup>11</sup> This is JURIN's last letter to L., who died less than two months later.

BRIEF Nr. L-587 AUGUSTUS 1723

Gericht aan: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Geen Nederlands manuscript bekend. Het niet ondertekende manuscript

van de Latijnse vertaling van L.'s brief bevindt zich bij de Royal Society,

Early Letters L4.86, 3 kwartobladzijden.

#### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1723: 'De Globulis in Sanguine & in Vini Foecibus. Epistula posthuma D<sup>ni</sup> Antonij a Leeuwenhoek Societatis Regiae Londinensis, dum viveret Sodalis dignissimi, ad Jacobum Jurin, R.S. Secr.' *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 december 1723), nr. 380, blz. 436-437. – Vrijwel volledige tekst van de Latijnse brief.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, blz. 145. – Nederlandse samenvatting.

#### SAMENVATTING:

In deze postume brief bespreekt L. de overeenkomsten tussen bolletjes in bloed en in de wijnmoer om te argumenteren tegen JURIN's hoop om te ontdekken hoe bloedbolletjes worden gemaakt.

### OPMERKINGEN:

Deze brief is in het Latijn vertaald door JOHANNES HOOGVLIET¹ en door hem naar JAMES JURIN gestuurd, samen met de volgende Brief L-588, en de begeleidende Brief L-590 van 4 september 1723, beide in dit deel. Omdat de brieven in het Latijn zijn gesteld, werden er geen eigentijdse vertalingen naar het Engels gemaakt.

Geen van L.'s brieven waren gedateerd of ondertekend, dus waarschijnlijk maakte HOOGVLIET de vertalingen na L.'s overlijden. JURIN besloot ze te uitgeven in de volgorde waarin ze werden voorgelezen aan de Royal Society.

De Latijnse titel in de *Philosophical Transactions* luidt in vertaling: 'Over de bolletjes in bloed en de droesem in wijn. Postume brief van de heer Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, tijdens zijn leven een zeer waardig lid van de Royal Society in Londen, aan James Jurin, R.S. secretaris.' De brief werd voorgelezen op de vergadering van de Royal Society van 21 november 1722 O.S. Zie: Journal Book Original, Dl. 13, blz. 324:

A Latin Letter from the late Mr. LEWENHOEK in answer to one from Dr. JURIN was read, wherein he propounds some difficulties which occurs to him concerning a question proposed whether we might not be able to form some conjecture about the manner in which the globles of blood are made, by a strickt observation of the different sizes of globles in the Blood of different Animals. And offers his opinion that we cannot.

<sup>1</sup> Zie voor JOHANNES HOOGVLIET (1690-1746), Brief L-576 van 13 juni 1722, aant. 15, in dit deel.

BRIEF Nr. L-587 AUGUSTUS 1723

Delphis in Batavia

[Doctissimo Viro Domino J. JURIN Regiae Societatis Londinensis a Secretis Doctissime Vir]<sup>2</sup>

Ex proximis Tuis litteris Septimo kalendas Iulii datis<sup>3</sup> innotuit mihi nobilissimos D.D. Regiae Societatis meas tres ultimas epistolas magno cum gaudio accepisse, quod mihi gratissimum erat intellectu; Tibique, Vir doctissime, placuisse tuas observationes de globulorum sanguineorum magnitudine meis observationibus congruere. Porro dicis, Vir doctissime, non credo hanc explorationem in fore indifferentem, seu inutilem, quoniam non impossibile est, quin illa observatio de globulorum sanguineorum magnitudine in variis animalibus, una cum suis parvulis vasculis, ductura sit nos aliquando ad detectionem ubi, et quibus mediis hi globuli formentur, et inde determinatam crassitudinem in eodem animali conservant.

Deinde dicis, Mi doctissime, hoc ampliori tua exploratione bene dignum est.

Ad haec mihi assume Tibi, Vir eruditissime, objicere, me ad imaginationem eam adduci, nos nunquam ad explorationem illam perventuros, quomodo scilicet hi globuli ex materia fluida ad magnitudinis determinatae globulos sint coagulaturi.

Multis abhinc annis ad me apportari jussi vinum fermentans, quia hoc vinum globulos producit fere sanguineis aequales, quos vini faeces vocamus: et quamvis tale vinum microscopio apponerem, tamen nil aliud videbam quam innumerabilem multitudinem parvissimorum globulorum aëreorum, sursum ad superficiem vini adscendentium, et secum illos globulos, quos vini faeces nominamus, ducentium. Quin jam in superficiem vini venerant, separabantur vini faeces à globulis aëreis, et fundum repetebant, mihi non apparente, quomodo globuli, quos dicimus vini faeces, formabantur: et simulac, ni fallit memoria, globuli illi inferius descendissent, exibat ex globulo illo iterum globulos aëreus, et ita denuo ad superficiem vini devehebatur.

Imaginor mihi coagulationem illam, ac determinatam globulorum sanguineorum magnitudinem à rerum primordiis esse creatas; nam si unus globulus altero major erat, suspicamur exinde inordinatam circulationem fore secuturam, quoniam sanguinem per varia vascula sanguinea rapide transfluentem vidi, quae adeo exilia erant, ut simplex saltem globulus transire potuerit.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Het stuk tussen de rechte haken is niet afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> L. verwijst hier naar Brief L-585 van 6 juli 1723 (gedateerd 25 juni 1723 O.S.). Voor de wijze van dateren zie de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-598 van 29 November 1723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ongesigneerd. Zie de Opmerkingen hierboven.

LETTER No. L-587 AUGUST 1723

Addressed to: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: No Dutch manuscript known. The unsigned manuscript of the Latin

translation of L.'s letter is to be found in London, Royal Society, Early

Letters L4.86; 3 quarto pages.

#### PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1723: "De Globulis in Sanguine & in Vini Foecibus. Epistola posthuma Domini Antonij a Leeuwenhoek, Societatis Regiae Londinensis, dum viveret, Sodalis dignissimi, ad Jacobum Jurin, R. S. Secr.", *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 December 1723), no. 380, pp. 436-437. – Almost complete text of the Latin letter.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE 1924: De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 145. – Dutch summary.

#### SUMMARY:

In this posthumous letter, L. discusses the similarities between globules in blood and in the lees of wine to argue against JURIN's hope to discover how blood globules are made.

#### **REMARKS:**

This letter was translated into Latin by JOHANNES HOOGVLIET<sup>1</sup> and sent to JAMES JURIN, together with the following Letter L-588, and the cover Letter L-590, dated 4 September 1723, both in this volume. Because the letters are in Latin, no contemporary translations into English were made.

Neither letter by L. is dated or signed, so HOOGVLIET probably made the translations after L. died. JURIN decided to publish them in the order in which they were read to the Royal Society.

The Latin title in the *Philosophical Transactions* translates to "On the globules in blood and the lees in wine. Posthumous letter of Mr. Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, during his life a most worthy member of the Royal Society in London to James Jurin, R.S. Secr." This letter was read during the meeting of the Royal Society on 21 November 1723 O.S.; Royal Society, Journal Book Original, vol. 13, p. 324:

A Latin Letter from the late Mr. Lewenhoek in answer to one from Dr. Jurin was read, wherein he propounds some difficulties which occurs to him concerning a question proposed whether we might not be able to form some conjecture about the manner in which the globles of blood are made, by a strickt observation of the different sizes of globles in the Blood of different Animals. And offers his opinion that we cannot.

See for JOHANNES HOOGVLIET (1690-1746), Letter L-576 of 13 June 1722, note 11, in this volume.

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LETTER NO. L-587 AUGUST 1723

Delft in Holland

To the most learned gentleman Mr. J. JURIN<sup>2</sup> Secretary of the Royal Society in London Most learned sir

From your last letter, written on the twenty-fifth of June<sup>3</sup>, it came to my notice that the most noble gentlemen of the Royal Society have received my last three letters with much joy<sup>4</sup>, which was very agreeable to me to perceive; and that it has pleased you, most learned sir, that your observations on the size of the blood globules tally with my observations. Furthermore, most learned sir, you say: I think that this inquiry will not be without interest or useless, because it is not inconceivable that observation of the size of the blood globules in various animals, together with their very small vessels, might lead us some day to the discovery where, and by what means, these blood globules are formed and henceforward in one and the same animal preserve their invariable thickness<sup>5</sup>.

After that, most learned [sir], you say that this is worth a further investigation on your part.

Hereupon I take it upon me, most learned sir, to argue against you, that I am led to believe that we shall never come to that discovery, to wit, in what way these globules will coagulate from a fluid matter into globules of an invariable size.

Many years ago, I ordered fermenting wine to be brought to me, because this wine produces globules that are almost like the ones in the blood and that we call the lees of the wine<sup>6</sup>. Although I put such wine in front of the magnifying glass, yet I saw nothing other than an innumerable multitude of very tiny air bubbles, rising upwards to the surface of the wine and taking with them those globules that we call the lees of wine. When the latter eventually came to the surface of the wine, the wine lees were separated from the air bubbles and went back to the bottom, while it was not clear to me in what way the globules, which we call the lees of wine, were formed. If my memory does not deceive me, at the same time when these globules sank down, an air bubble again came forth from that globule, and in this way the latter was anew conveyed towards the surface of the wine.

I think that that coagulation and the invariable size of the blood globules have been fashioned from the first beginnings of creation. For if a single globule were larger than another, we conjecture that thereafter a disordered circulation would follow, because I have seen the blood flowing rapidly through various vessels, which were so thin that just a single globule could pass through<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> L.'s previous letter to JURIN is Letter L-584 of 19 March 1723, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Letter L-586 of 6 July 1723 (dated 25 June 1723 O.S.), in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> L. is mistaken that the letters JURIN refers to are his "last three". Letter L-567 of 15 January 1721 was written two years earlier, when EDMOND HALLEY was still editor and was neglecting letters from L. The other two letters that JURIN refers to are Letter L-583 of 19 March 1723 and Letter L-585 of 31 May 1723. All three letters are in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This passage is close to what Jurin wrote in Letter L-586. Without L.'s original Dutch manuscript, we do not know whether he gave HOOGVLIET a direct English quotation from JURIN's letter or a Dutch paraphrase. The latter would indicate that L.'s ability to read English had improved since early in his career when he told the Royal Society that he knew only Dutch. See, for example, Letter L-035 22 [15] of 21 April 1676 to HENRY OLDENBURG, *Collected Letters*, vol. 2.

<sup>6</sup> L.'s previous discussion of blood globules and the lees of wine is in Letter 65 [33] L-111 of 12 November 1680. Note 2 discusses lees. For L.'s previous observations of yeast, see Letter 62 [32] L-108 of 14 June 1680, especially note 2, p. 245. Both letters are in idem, vol. 3.

Not signed. See the Remarks above. L.'s final letter to JURIN is Letter L-588, in this volume.

BRIEF Nr. L-588 AUGUSTUS 1723

Gericht aan: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Geen Nederlands manuscript bekend. Het niet ondertekende manuscript

van de Latijnse vertaling van de brief bevindt zich bij de Royal Society, Early Letters L4.87; 6 kwartobladzijden. Aldaar ook een kopie van het eerste deel van de brief in Letter Book Original 15.84, blz. 320, 2 blz. Een kopie van het tweede deel van de brief is te vinden in Letter Book

Original 15.84, blz. 322, 4 blz.

#### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1723: 'Ejusdem Viri Clarissimi ad Eundem Epistola Posthuma. De Generatione Animalium, & de Palpitatione Diaphragmatis.' *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 december 1723), nr. 380, blz. 438-440. – Vrijwel volledige tekst van de Latijnse brief.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE (1924): De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, blz. 145. – Nederlandse samenvatting.

#### SAMENVATTING:

In deze postume brief verdedigt L. zijn opvattingen over de rol van sperma bij het ontstaan van dieren en bespreekt hij de samentrekkingen van zijn middenrif. Hij gebruikt een glazen apparaat van eigen ontwerp om deze kwaal te behandelen.

### OPMERKINGEN:

Deze brief is in het Latijn vertaald door JOHANNES HOOGVLIET¹ en door hem naar JAMES JURIN gestuurd, samen met de vorige Brief L-587, en de begeleidende Brief L-590 van 4 september 1723. Omdat beide brieven in het Latijn zijn gesteld, werden er geen eigentijdse vertalingen in het Engels gemaakt. De brieven zijn bovendien ongedateerd en niet ondertekend, dus waarschijnlijk heeft HOOGVLIET de vertalingen na L.'s overlijden gemaakt. JURIN besloot ze te publiceren in de volgorde waarin ze aan de Royal Society zijn voorgelezen.

De Latijnse titel in de *Philosophical Transactions* luidt in vertaling: 'Postume brief aan dezelfde beroemde heren. Het ontstaan van dieren en de samentrekkingen van het middenrif'. De brief werd voorgelezen op de vergadering van de Royal Society van 21 november 1723 O.S. Zie: Journal Book Original, Dl. 13, blz. 324: 'Another Latin Letter from the same to Dr. JURIN wrote in vindication of his notion about the generation of animals from animalcula was also read'.

<sup>1</sup> Zie voor JOHANNES HOOGVLIET (1690-1746), Brief L-576 van 13 juni 1722, noot 15, in dit deel.

BRIEF Nr. L-588 AUGUSTUS 1723

Delphis in Batavis.

[Doctissimo Viro Domino J. JURIN Regiae Societatis Londinensis à Secretis.

Vir Eruditissime.]<sup>2</sup>

Inter alia ex tuis proximis litteris, septimo Kalendas Iulii datis,<sup>3</sup> intellexi sententiam meam de generatione tibi videri firmissima[m] omnium hactenus in lucem editarum: et quod mihi non incognitum erat, quosdam anatomicos supra mea fundamenta novum struere sijstema ausos esse, affirmantes, ovum esse proprium nidum in quo animalculum seminis masculini hospitatur, et quod idem ovium, ex eo impregnatum, postea per tubam Fallopianam deducitur ab ovario ad uterum.

Multos expectavi contradicentes, et doctissimus quidam dominus dicebat, postquam meum sijstema de generatione legisset, recte putas, sed vita tua convincendis omnib[us] non sufficiet; alius dicebat, me mendacia de animalculis memoria prodere.

Paulo ante obitum Di LEIBNITS, scribebat ille dominus mihi Hannonia, se meam sententiam de generatione amplexisse, seque in libro quodam, a se edito, idem demonstrasse. Sed quendam dominum in Italia esse, qui contra meum sijstema de generatione aliquid esset editurus; atque in Germania dominum esse, qui cum illo communicaverat totum ovarum in tuba Fallopiana repertum esse; Professoresque in Germania inveniri, qui animalcula seminis masculini esse negabant. Verum enimvero quamvis contradictiones quam plurimas passus sim, et adhuc patior, permanebo in sijstemate meo, quoniam animalcula in omnigenis seminibus inveni, si saltem animalia rite tractare possem, ne exceptis quidem variis avium ac piscium speciebus.

Porro comperimus in omnib[us] arborum et plantarum seminibus, etiamsi parvissimis, si modo tractari possint, plantam esse formatam, quam plantam antea comparavi cum animalculis seminis masculini. Et farinosa materia in seminibus plantarum plantis nutrimento esse debet tamdiu quam planta suos ejecerit radices, et ex terra ali possit.

Doctissime Vir, concede mihi libertatem dicendi me percipere non posse, quomodo positiones adeo vanas statuere, easque in lucem edere audeant, quod animalcula seminis masculini in utero vel tuba Fallopiana effusi, postea per tubam Fallopianam deducerentur ab ovario ad uterum. Hae positiones sunt adeo omni fundamente carentes, ut ulteriori contradictione indignae sint.

Ulterius dicis, eruditissime Vir, meam pristinae sanitati restitutionem tibi gratam fuisse, pro qua benignitate erga me gratias ago maximas, et Tibi dicere cogor, me multis ab hinc annis pro certo habuisse, quod diaphragma instrumentum sit adeo magnum, ut totum abdomen continue moveat, quo motu cibi in ventriculo et intestinis adeo conteruntur, ut in materiam tam fluidam redigantur, quae apta est ut intret parvula illa vascula sanguinea, quae multa in intestinorum cavitatibus sita sunt: non autem per oscula illorum vasculorum, ut quidam hominibus persuadere conati sunt, sed me judice per tenues tunicas illorum parvissimorum vasculorum sanguineorum.

Si jam ponamus arteriam in corpore bene constituto, intra horae unius spatium ter millies et sexcenties pulsare, quatuorque pulsus fieri in una respiratione computabimus, nongentas respirationes spatio unius horae, ac toties fiet pressio ventriculi et intestinorum, quam voco subactionem in ventriculo et intestinis contentorum.

<sup>2</sup> Het stuk tussen de rechte haken is niet afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> L. verwijst hier naar Brief L-585 van 6 juli 1723 (gedateerd 25 juni 1723 O.S.). Voor de wijze van dateren zie de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-598 van 29 November 1723.

BRIEF Nr. L-588 **AUGUSTUS 1723** 

Sit mihi quoque venia Tibi, doctissime Vir, dicendi, quod duos abhinc menses, varias lentas palpitationes per diaphragma senserim, quare cogitabam de tuba quadam vitrea, à me inventa, ad spiritum cujusdam liquoris in pectus ducendum, ut experimentum facerem, num insolitus ille diaphragmatis motus, quem cordis palpitationem vocant, sedari posset.

Implevi ergo meam tubam ad altitudinem trium transversorum digitorum spiritu vini, in quo jam diu haec aromata fuerant infusa, nempe nuces mocatae, macis, et parum garijophilorum, sed cinamomi multum, ut et croci, et inspiravi aërem transeuntem per hunc spiritum Vini, et quidem non modeste, sed fortiter aërem in pulmonem impuli, quo diaphragma, quod fortis membrana est, valde extendebam, experiendi gratia, num palpitationem vel inordinatum diaphragmatis motum hoc facto componere possem, quod illo tempore bene successit: Sed postea quidem evenit ut experimentum hoc, quamvis aërem tam fortiter in pectus indeerem, ut pressus aër cum tussi ex gutture erumperet, expectationem meam eluserit.

Sententia tua mihi longe visu erat gratissima, nempe quod diaphragmatis palpitatio validiori interetur fundamento, quam illa cordis.4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ongesigneerd. Zie de Opmerkingen hierboven.

LETTER NO. L-588 AUGUST 1723

*Addressed to*: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: No Dutch manuscript known. The unsigned manuscript of the Latin

translation of the letter is to be found in London, Royal Society, Early Letters L4.87; 6 quarto pages. There is also preserved a copy of the first part of the letter in Letter Book Original 15.84, p. 320, 2 pages. A copy of the second part of the letter is found in Letter Book Original 15.85, p.

322, 4 pages.

#### PUBLISHED IN:

A. VAN LEEUWENHOEK 1723: "Ejusdem Viri Clarissimi ad Eundem Epistola Posthuma. De Generatione Animalium, & de Palpitatione Diaphragmatis", *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 December 1723), no. 380, pp. 438-440. — Almost complete text of the Latin letter.

A.J.J. VANDEVELDE (1924): De 3e Engelsche reeksen der brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, p. 145. – Dutch summary.

#### SUMMARY:

In this posthumous letter, L. defends his views on the role of sperm in the generation of animals and discusses his diaphragmatic palpitations. He uses a glass device of his own design to treat this ailment.

# **REMARKS:**

This letter was translated into Latin by JOHANNES HOOGVLIET<sup>1</sup> and sent to JAMES JURIN, together with the previous Letter L-587, and the cover Letter L-590, dated September 4, 1723. Because the letters are in Latin, no contemporary translations into English were made. Neither letter by L. is dated or signed, so HOOGVLIET probably made the translations after L. died. JURIN decided to publish them in the order in which they were read to the Royal Society.

The Latin title in the *Philosophical Transactions* translates to "Posthumous letter to the same most famous men. The Generation of Animals and the Palpitation of the Diaphragm". The letter was read during the meeting of the Royal Society on 21 November 1723 O.S.; Royal Society, Journal Book Original, vol. 13, p. 324: "Another Latin Letter from the same to Dr. Jurin wrote in vindication of his notion about the generation of animals from animalcula was also read".

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See for JOHANNES HOOGVLIET (1690-1746), Letter L-576 of 13 June 1722, note 11, in this volume.

LETTER NO. L-588 AUGUST 1723

Delft in Holland

To the most learned gentleman Mr. J. JURIN<sup>2</sup> Secretary to the Royal Society in London.

Most learned sir.

From your last letter, dated 25 June 1723,<sup>3</sup> I have gathered, among other things, that my view on generation seems to you the most certain of all opinions published up to now; and - which was not unknown to me - that some anatomists have ventured to construct a new thesis on my groundwork, asserting that the egg is the proper nest in which the little animal of the male semen sojourns, and that that same egg, impregnated by this, afterwards is conveyed through the fallopian tube from the ovary to the uterus.

I expected that many people would contradict this, and a certain most learned gentleman said, when he had read my thesis on generation: Your view is correct, but your life will not suffice to convince everyone; another said that I had handed down lies on the little animals to posterity.

Shortly before the death of Mr. LEIBNIZ, that gentleman wrote to me from Hannover that he had embraced my view on generation, and that he had made this clear in a certain book which he had published<sup>4</sup>. But that there was a certain gentleman in Italy<sup>5</sup>, who planned to publish something against my thesis on generation; and that there was a gentleman in Germany<sup>6</sup>, who informed him that an entire ovary had been found in the fallopian tube; and that in Germany professors<sup>7</sup> were to be found who denied that little animals were part of the male semen. But indeed, although I have met with all possible objections, and still do meet with them, I shall stand by my thesis, because I have found the little animals in semen of all kinds, at least if I was able to handle the animals in the correct way, various species of birds and fishes not even excepted.

Further, I have found that in all seeds of trees and plants, even if they were very minute, provided that they could be handled, the embryo was formed, which embryo I have in the past compared to the little animals in the male semen. And the mealy substance in the seeds of plants must serve as nourishment for the embryos for so long until the embryo thrusts its roots out and can be nourished from the earth.

Grant me the liberty, most learned sir, to say that I cannot comprehend how people dare take up such groundless standpoints, and to publish them, to wit, that the little animals of the male semen, poured forth in the uterus or in the fallopian tube, afterwards are conveyed from the ovary into the uterus through the fallopian tube. These points of view are without any foundation, so much so that they are not worthy of further counterarguments.

Furthermore, you say, most learned sir, that my recovery of my former state of health was welcome [news] for you, for which friendliness towards me I offer you many

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> L.'s previous letter to JURIN is Letter L-587, also dated August 1723, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> L. refers here to JURIN's Letter L-586 of 6 July 1723 (dated 25 June 1723 O.S.), in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Letter L-539 of 25 September 1716 and Letter L-545 [XXX], Collected Letters, vol. 18, and Letter L-576 of 13 June 1722, in this volume. Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme et l'origine du mal (Essays of theodicy on the goodness of God, the freedom of man and the origin of evil), first published in 1710, was the only book by Leibniz published during his lifetime.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> ANTONIO VALLISNIERI (1661–1730) was an Italian physician and naturalist.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Not identified in the previous correspondence of LEIBNIZ and L.

JOHANN WILHELM PAULI (1658-1723), a professor of pathology in Leipzig, and MARTIN NABOTH (1675-1721), a medical doctor in Leipzig.

LETTER NO. L-588 AUGUST 1723

thanks. I am impelled to say to you that already for many years I have been firmly convinced that the diaphragm is such a great apparatus that it continually sets the entire abdomen in motion, through which movement the foodstuffs in the stomach and the intestines are ground to pieces to such an extent that they are reduced to such a fluid matter that it is fit to enter those little blood vessels lying in large numbers in the cavities of the intestines; not, however, through the mouths of those vessels, as certain persons have tried to make people believe, but, I think, through the thin vascular walls of those very tiny blood vessels.

Now if we suppose that an artery in a healthy body pulsates within the space of an hour three thousand and six hundred times, and that four pulses come about during a single breathing, then we shall compute that nine hundred breaths come about in the space of one hour, and as many times a pressure on the stomach and the intestines is created, which I call a working through of the contents in the stomach and the intestines.

I hope that I shall also be allowed to say to you, most learned sir, that for two months I have felt various slow palpitations throughout the diaphragm, for which reason I thought of a certain glass tube, invented by me, to convey the exhalation of some fluid into one's breast; in order that I might try an experiment, whether that unusual motion of the diaphragm, which people call palpitation of the heart, could be appeared.

Therefore, I filled my tube up to the height of three fingers' breadths with spirit of wine, to which already for a long period the following spices had been added, to wit, nutmeg, mace, and a little bit of a clove, but a lot of cinnamon, as well as saffron. I inhaled the air passing through this spirit of wine, and not temperately at that, but I strongly drove the air into my lungs, through which I vigorously extended the diaphragm, which is a strong membrane, in order to try whether by doing this I could tranquillize the palpitation, or disorderly movement, of the diaphragm, which that time was successful. But afterwards it happened that, although I drove the air so vigorously into my lungs that the compressed air broke out of my throat with a cough, this experiment did not come up to my expectation.

Your opinion was extremely pleasant for me to read, namely that the palpitation of the diaphragm has the advantage of a stronger foundation than that of the heart<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This is L.'s final letter. He died on 26 August 1723.

Gericht aan: JAMES JURIN.

Geschreven door: PETRUS GRIBIUS.

Manuscript: Gesigneerde brief bij de Royal Society, Londen, Early Letters G2.3, Latijn,

2 pagina's.

### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

C. DOBELL 1932: Antony van Leeuwenhoek and His "Little Animals" (New York: Harcourt, Brace), pp. 94-96 – Volledige Engelse vertaling.

#### SAMENVATTING:

GRIBIUS brengt JURIN op de hoogte van de omstandigheden rond het overlijden van L. en zijn legaat aan de Royal Society van een aantal microscopen met preparaten, die binnenkort zullen worden opgestuurd door L.'s dochter MARIA.

## OPMERKINGEN:

De vertaling van CLIFFORD DOBELL wijkt enigszins af van de hier gepresenteerde vertaling. In voetnoten merkt DOBELL op dat verschillende passages uit de brief van GRIBIUS citaten zijn van – en toespelingen op – HOMERUS, PLINIUS en STATIUS.

In het Journal Book dateert de Royal Society de brief op 29 augustus 1723 N.S. Ten onrechte staat daar ook vermeld dat L. op 25 augustus is overleden in plaats van op 26 augustus. DOBELL heeft de brief ten onrechte gedateerd op 30 augustus 1723. Deze brief werd voorgelezen op de vergadering van de Royal Society van 7 november 1723 (O.S.). Zie: Royal Society, Journal Book, Dl. 13, blz. 315:

A Letter in Latin from the Rev. Peter Gribius minister of the Church at Delft to Dr. Jurin dated at Delft the 29th of August N.S. concerning the Death of the Society's antient correspondent Mr. Anthony Van Lewenhoeck was read. Wherein he informs the Society that this ancient gentleman died on the 25th of Augt N.S. having past the 90th year of his age, and at his death bequeathed to the Society a Box of Curious microscopes made with his own hand: which Box his daughter promised to transmit in a few Weeks.

Voor meer over dit kabinet met microscopen en preparaten, zie Brief 228 [140] L-392 van 2 augustus 1701 aan de Royal Society, waarin L. de schenking aankondigt, *Alle de Brieven*, Dl. 14, en aant. 6 hieronder. De volgende negen brieven die na het overlijden van L. tussen Delft en Londen worden uitgewisseld, Brief L-590 tot en met Brief L-598, alle in dit deel, betreffen dit legaat.

Nobilissimo Viro JOANNI JURIN<sup>1</sup> Regiae Societati a secretis Illustrissimo, S. P. PETRUS GRIBIUS<sup>2</sup> Ecclesiae Delphensis pastor senex

Interpellare te in gravissimis tuis occúpationibus et curis non sustineo, Vir praeclarissime, nisi provocatus lacrijmis MARIAE, unicae natae magni sui parentis ANTONII A LEEÚWENHOEK, qúi ut summum diem nec metuit nec optavit, sic nonagenario major súúm placidè claúsit VII Kalend: Septemb<sup>r</sup>. raro vitae termino, certè non crudo aút semicocto, sed plús quam maturo. Est enim in genere húmano, út in pyro aút pomo arbore fructibus onustâ, quae alia confertim et impetú demittit, alia vero plus qúam matúra, seorsim et sponte sua cadunt. Eleganter vates —

κῆρες ἐφεστᾶσιν θανάτοιο Μυρίαι, ἃς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν, οὐδὶ ὑπολῆξαι.  $^3$ 

nostrum est acquiescere Deo sapienter providenti, quem suo jure perperam fraúdamús, nisi ejus arbitrio vivere ac mori quemquam nostrûm submissè patiamur.

Bonúm senem tenuit opinio se moritúrúm diaphragmatis vitio, sed pulmonúm fúit, eorúmque lenta obstructio sensim in suppurationem vergens, adeo út phlegmata púrúlenta ejecerit, et súppúrato púlmone obierit, sexto post quam decúbuit die. Ita ferúnt nostri medici, harúm rerúm callentissimi. Non enim ego ex me de morbis aliquid; ne sútor últra crepidas.<sup>4</sup>

Dit is de eerste van twee brieven van GRIBIUS aan JAMES JURIN (1684-1750). Diens naam is 'James', of in het Latijn 'Jacobus', niet 'Joannes'. GRIBIUS herhaalde deze fout in zijn tweede brief. Voor JURIN, zie de Opmerkingen bij brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 (gedateerd 22 februari 1722 O.S.), in dit deel.

PETRUS GRIBIUS (1651-1739) werd in 1681 predikant in Delft en predikte daar 53 jaar tot hij in september 1734 met emeritaat ging. In 1684, trouwde hij met DEBORA VAN DER HEUL, een telg uit een rijke familie van buskruitfabrikanten. Ze kregen één dochter, MARIA GRIBIUS, die trouwde met ABRAHAM VAN BLEYSWIJK, een jaar voordat L. drie brieven aan VAN BLEYSWIJK richtte die in de Send-Brieven werden uitgegeven. Zie Brief L-538 [XXVII] van 17 september 1716, Brief L-547 [XXXII] van 2 Maart 1717, en Brief L-551 [XXXVII] van 26 mei 1717, alle in Alle de Brieven, Dl. 18. GRIBIUS gaf in 1731 enkele van zijn preken uit onder de titel Tree Redenvoeringen over Job XIV v. 1.2. Deze werden gedrukt door ADRIAAN BEMAN, die ook de Send-Brieven van L. drukte. Andere preken werden in 1740 postuum uitgegeven als Verscheyde redevoeringen op bijzondere lijden en omstandigheden. De dichter ARNOLD HOOGVLIET gaf in 1739 een treurdicht uit op zijn overlijden.

<sup>3</sup> HOMERUS, *Ilius*, Boek XII, verzen 326-327. Volgens de gangbare lezing van HOMERUS zou de tekst hier eindigen op ὑπαλύξαι. Volgens de online Nederlandse vertaling van BEN BIJNSDORP (https://benbijnsdorp.nl/homerus ilias.html) betekent deze zin dan: "Nu staat het doodslot op de loer, in duizend gedaanten, die geen sterveling ontkomen kan of ontwijken". GRIBIUS schrijft echter ὑπολῆξαι, wat zoiets betekent als 'langzaamaan ophouden'. Deze lezing is in geen enkel kritisch apparaat op HOMERUS is terug te vinden: dit heeft hij zich verkeerd herinnerd of zelf verzonnen. Omdat GRIBIUS uitgaat van een afwijkende Griekse tekst verandert de zin in: "Veel onheil van de dood staat bij ons, dat een sterveling niet kan ontvluchten, en het houdt niet (langzaamaan) op". (notitie en vertaling: MAURITS VAN WOERCOM).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Normaliter luidt dit spreekwoord "ne sutor ultra crepidam". Hier is meervoud gebruikt: "schoenmaker houd u bij uw leesten" (MvW).

BRIEF Nr. L-589 29 AUGUSTUS 1723

Quamquam<sup>5</sup> cum lectissimis specillis (quae vulgo Μικροσκοπία dicúntúr) instruxit arcúlam, post fata sua Regiae Societati donandam; elapsis sex vel septem hebdomadibus ad te mittet ejus filia, út mihi dixit. Apud nos vero bonam famam et in Templo memoriae, indefesso suo natúrae scrútinio consecratam reliquit. Tibi, nobilissime Vir, qui honorifico loco es et merit[is] tuis digno, longos annos ire voveo, út ex bono publico Iliacos aeqúare senes aút vincere possis.

Delphis Batavorum III Kalend: Septembr: MDCXXI[II]6

De eerste letter is een afkorting of ligatuur, waardoor er niet 'Quam' staat, maar 'Quamquam' (MvW).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Laatste twee cijfers afgesneden bij inbinden brief.

LETTER NO. L-589 29 AUGUST 1723

Addressed to: JAMES JURIN.

Written by: Petrus Gribius.

Manuscript: The signed autograph letter is to be found in London, Royal Society, Early

Letters G2.3, Latin, 2 pages.

### PUBLISHED IN:

C. DOBELL 1932: Antony van Leeuwenhoek and His "Little Animals", pp. 94-96 (New York: Harcourt, Brace). – Complete English translation.

#### SUMMARY:

In this letter, GRIBIUS informs JURIN of the circumstances surrounding the death of L. and his bequest to the Royal Society of a set of microscopes with their preparations, soon to be sent by L.'s daughter MARIA.

### REMARKS:

CLIFFORD DOBELL's translation differs slightly from the translation given here. In footnotes, DOBELL notes that several of the passages in GRIBIUS's letter are quotations from and allusions to HOMER, PLINY, and STATIUS.

In the Journal Book, the Royal Society dates the letter 29 August 1723 (N.S.) It also says erroneously that L. died on 25 August, instead of 26 August. DOBELL incorrectly dated the letter to 30 August 1723. This letter was read at the Royal Society's meeting on 7 November 1723 (O.S.), Royal Society, Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 315:

A Letter in Latin from the Rev. PETER GRIBIUS minister of the Church at Delft to Dr. JURIN dated at Delft the 29th of August N.S. concerning the Death of the Society's antient correspondent Mr. ANTHONY VAN LEWENHOECK was read. Wherein he informs the Society that this ancient gentleman died on the 25th of Augt N.S. having past the 90th year of his age, and at his death bequeathed to the Society a Box of Curious microscopes made with his own hand: which Box his daughter promised to transmit in a few Weeks.

For more on this cabinet of microscopes and specimens, see Letter 228 [140] L-392 of 2 August 1701 to the Royal Society, in which L. announces it, *Collected Letters*, vol. 14, and n. 6 below. The following nine letters between Delft and London after L.'s death, Letter L-590 through Letter L-598, all in this volume, concern this bequest.

LETTER No. L-589 29 AUGUST 1723

To the most noble gentleman JOANNUS JURIN<sup>1</sup>, Most famous secretary of the Royal Society, PETRUS GRIBIUS<sup>2</sup> Eldest minister of the church in Delft Sends many greetings

I would not venture to disturb you in your most weighty activities and cares, most famous sir, but that I am called upon by the tears of MARIA, only daughter of her great father ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK, who, according as he did neither fear, nor wish for, the Last Day, in that way quietly closed his [final day], more than ninety years old, on the 26th of August<sup>3</sup>; with a rare ending of a life, to be sure, neither immature, nor half done, but more than mature. For with regard to mankind it is as with an apple tree or pear tree, weighed down with fruits; some of which it lets fall all at once, and on an impulse; yet others fall separately, more than ripe, and of their own accord. The great poet [HOMER] says it gracefully:

Many evils of death are upon us, which no mortal can escape, and they do not cease slowly.<sup>4</sup>

It is our part to acquiesce in God's wise providence – God, whom we wrongly defraud of His right, unless we accept humbly that each of our friends will live and die according to His verdict.

The good old man held to the opinion that he was dying through a defect of the diaphragm<sup>5</sup>, but it was through a defect of the lungs, and their slow blocking-up, gradually tending towards a suppuration; so much so that he brought up purulent phlegm, and died when the lung had become suppurated, on the sixth day after he had become bedridden. This is what our physicians say, who are very knowledgeable about these matters. For I would not say something on my own about illnesses – let the shoemakers stick to their last.

This is GRIBIUS's first of two letters to JURIN. For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 (dated 22 February 1722 O.S.), in this volume. His name is James, the Latin for which is Jacobus, not Joannes. GRIBIUS repeated this mistake in his second letter to JURIN.

PETRUS GRIBIUS (1651-1739) became a pastor in Delft in 1681, and preached there for 53 years until he was given emeritus status in September 1734. In 1684, he married DEBORA VAN DER HEUL, a descendant of a wealthy family of gunpowder manufacturers. They had one daughter, MARIA GRIBIUS who married ABRAHAM VAN BLEYSWIJK one year before L. addressed three letters to VAN BLEYSWIJK that were published in Send-Brieven. Letter L-538 [XXVII] of 17 September 1716, Letter L-547 [XXXII] of 2 March 1717, and Letter L-551 [XXXVII] of 26 May 1717, all in Collected Letters, vol. 18. GRIBIUS published some of his sermons in 1731 under the title Twee Redenvoeringen over Job XIV v. 1.2 ("Two Discourses on Job XIV v. 1.2"). It was printed by ADRIAAN BEMAN, who also printed L.'s Send-Brieven. Other sermons were published posthumously in 1740 as Verscheyde redevoeringen op bijzondere lijden en omstandigheden ("Various addresses on special sufferings and conditions"). In 1739 the poet ARNOLD HOOGVLIET published a mourning poem on his death.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> L. died at the age of 90 years, 10 months, and two days.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> HOMER, *Iliad*, Book XII, verses 326-327: "For many death demons threaten us, and it is not possible for a mortal to escape or avoid them. GRIBIUS deviates from the original Greek text. This changes HOMER's sentence into: "Many evils of death are upon us, which no mortal can escape, and they do not cease (slowly)."

<sup>5</sup> See Letter L-538 [XXVII] of 17 September 1716, Collected Letters, vol. 18, in which L. describes his ailment to physician ABRAHAM VAN BLEYSWIJK, a frequent visitor to his house.

LETTER No. L-589 29 AUGUST 1723

The little cabinet, which he equipped with the choicest lenses (which commonly are called microscopes) and which after his death was to be given to the Royal Society<sup>6</sup>, will be sent to you by his daughter after six or seven weeks have gone by, as she has said to me<sup>7</sup>. Among us, however, he left his good fame, which in the temple of memory is devoted to his indefatigable investigation of nature. For you, most noble sir, who holds a most honourable position, worthy of your merits, I wish that long years will extend, so that for the public good you will be able to equate or vanquish the Trojan<sup>8</sup> old men<sup>9</sup>.

At Delft in Holland, the 29th of August 1723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For L.'s bequest, see Letter 228 [140] L-392 of 2 August 1701, *idem*, vol. 14, p. 5. "I have a very small black-lacquer and gilt cabinet which contains five small drawers, in which are locked 13 long four-sided tin boxes that I have covered with black leather, and in each of those boxes there are two ground magnifying glasses, thus making 26 magnifying glasses, all of which have been ground by me and are in a silver setting and mounted with silver, most of them with the silver I extracted from mineral and separated from the gold with which it was contaminated; and a note is added about the object standing before each glass. [...] I have ordered my only daughter that after my death this cabinet with the said magnifying glasses, which I will use, shall be sent to you, Your Honours, as a token of my gratitude for the marks of honour I have received from you."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Maria van Leeuwenhoek's Letter L-591 of 4 October 1723, in this volume.

<sup>8</sup> The passage from the *Iliad* is spoken by HECTOR, leader of the Trojans, encouraging an attack on the Greeks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> GRIBIUS's next and final letter to JURIN is Letter L-592 of 4 October 1723, in this volume.

Gericht aan: JAMES JURIN.

Geschreven door: JOHANNES HOOGVLIET.

Manuscript: Het manuscript van de door HOOGVLIET ondertekende brief bevindt zich

bij de Royal Society, Londen, Early Letters H3.112; Latijn, 2 pagina's.

### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

J. HOOGVLIET 1723: 'II. Epistola viri doctissimi Johannis Hoogvlietii ad Jacobum Jurin, M. D. R. S. Secr. De epistolis duabus posthumis viri celeberrimi Antonij a Leeuwenhoek, R.S.S.' *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 december 1723), nr. 380, blz. 435. – Volledige tekst van de Latijnse brief.

C. DOBELL 1932: Antony van Leeuwenhoek and His 'Little Animals', blz. 93 (New York: Harcourt, Brace). – Volledige Engelse vertaling.

## SAMENVATTING:

HOOGVLIET<sup>1</sup> informeert JURIN in deze begeleidende brief over de omstandigheden rond de twee bijgevoegde brieven (Brief L-587 en Brief L-588), die hij in het Latijn vertaalde na een door L. op zijn sterfbed gedaan verzoek.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

Omdat deze brief in het Latijn is gesteld, is er geen eigentijdse vertaling in het Engels gemaakt. De brief werd voorgelezen op de vergadering van de Royal Society van 7 november 1723 (O.S.) Zie: Journal Book, Dl. 13, blz. 315:

A Letter in Latin from JOHN HOOGVLIETIUS to Dr. JURIN dated at Delft the 4<sup>th</sup> of Sept. N.S. likewise advising of the Death of Mr. LEEUWENHOEK and of two Dutch Letters to the Society which he had translated into Latin at the request of Mr. LEEUWENHOECK before his death, was also read, for which he was ordered thanks.

De Latijnse titel in de *Philosophical Transactions* luidt in vertaling: 'Brief van de zeer geleerde man JOHANNES HOOGVLIET aan JACOB JURIN, M.D.R.S. Secr. over de twee postume brieven van de beroemde man ANTONY VAN LEEUWENHOEK'. De brief is gedrukt direct vóór de twee brieven van L. die daarbij zijn gevoegd, Brief L-587 en Brief L-588, beide gedateerd augustus 1723 en beide opgenomen in dit deel.

<sup>1</sup> Zie voor JOHANNES HOOGVLIET (1690-1746), Brief L-576 van 13 juni 1722, noot 16, in dit deel.

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Eruditissime Domine,

Senex noster venerandus LEEUWENHOEKIUS, jam in agone Mortis versans, ac nihilominus artis fuae memor, me ad se vocari jussit, attollensque oculos jam gravatos morte, verbis semiabruptis me rogabat, vellemne hasce binas literas ex vernaculo in Latinum Sermonem vertere, tibique, Vir Amplissime, mittere. Ut ergo hisce tanti viri, quo abhinc jam aliquot annos usus fueram familiarissime, parerem praeceptis, non possum, quin tibi, Vir eruditissime, hoc extremum, Viri mihi amicissimi morientis, munus mittam, sperans fore ut haec ultima ejus conamina tibi grata sint futura.

[Amplitudini tuae Regiae Societati ut diu faveat supremis rerum arbiter precor. Vale]<sup>2.</sup>

Delphis in Batavis, pridie Nonas Sept. 1723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Het zinsdeel tussen rechte haken staat niet afgedrukt in de *Philosophical Transactions*.

*Addressed to*: JAMES JURIN.

Written by: JOHANNES HOOGVLIET.

Manuscript: The signed autograph letter is to be found in London, Royal Society, Early

Letters H3.112; Latin, 2 pages.

### PUBLISHED IN:

J. HOOGVLIET 1723: "II. Epistola viri doctissimi Johannis Hoogvlietii ad Jacobum Jurin, M. D. R. S. Secr. De epistolis duabus posthumis viri celeberrimi Antonij a Leeuwenhoek, R.S.S." *Philosophical Transactions* 32 (31 December 1723), no. 380, p. 435. Complete text of the Latin Letter.

C. DOBELL 1932: Antony van Leeuwenhoek and His "Little Animals", p. 93 (New York: Harcourt, Brace). – Complete English translation.

#### SUMMARY:

In this cover letter, HOOGVLIET<sup>1</sup> informs JURIN of the circumstances surrounding the two enclosed letters (Letter L-587 and Letter L-588) that, on the deathbed request of L., he translated into Latin.

#### REMARKS:

Because the letter is in Latin, no contemporary translation into English was made. The English translation here is DOBELL's. The letter was read at the meeting of the Royal Society on 7 November 1723 (O.S.), Royal Society, Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 315:

A Letter in Latin from JOHN HOOGVLIETIUS to Dr. JURIN dated at Delft the 4th of Sept. N.S. likewise advising of the Death of Mr. LEEUWENHOEK and of two Dutch Letters to the Society which he had translated into Latin at the request of Mr. LEEUWENHOECK before his death, was also read, for which he was ordered thanks.

The Latin title in the *Philosophical Transactions* translates to "Letter of the most learned man JOHANNES HOOGVLIET to JAMES JURIN, M. D. R. S. Secr. On the two posthumous epistles of the most famous man ANTONY VAN LEEUWENHOEK". The letter was printed directly before the two letters from L. enclosed with it, Letter L-587 and Letter L-588, both dated August 1723 and both in this volume.

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See for JOHANNES HOOGVLIET (1690-1746), Letter L-576 of 13 June 1722, note 11, in this volume.

Most learned sir,

Our venerable old LEEUWENHOEK, being already in the throes of death, though none the less mindful of his art, ordered me to be called to him; and raising his eyes, now heavy with death, kept asking me in half-broken words if I would translate these two letters<sup>2</sup> out of our native tongue into Latin, and send them, most distinguished sir, to you. In obedience, therefore, to these commands of so great a man, with whom I had been for some years on terms of most intimate friendship, I can do no less than send you, most learned sir, this final gift of my dying and most dear friend: hoping that these his last efforts will prove acceptable to you. I pray that the Supreme Judge of all things may long bless Your Excellency, and the Royal Society: Farewell.

Delft in Batavia<sup>3</sup>, 4 Sept. 1723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Letter L-587 and Letter L-588, both addressed to JURIN and both in this volume.

Batavia' was at the time another expression for 'Holland'.

BRIEF Nr. L-591 4 OKTOBER 1723

Gericht aan: de Royal Society.

Geschreven door: MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

Manuscript: Eigenhandige, ondertekende brief. Het manuscript bevindt zich bij de

Royal Society, Londen, no. 2137, Early Letters L6.38; 1 blz.

### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

C. DOBELL 1932: Antony van Leeuwenhoek and His Little Animals', p. 98 (New York: Harcourt, Brace) – Volledige Engelse vertaling.

#### SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief ter begeleiding van een kabinetje met L.'s handgemaakte zilveren microscopen met bijbehorende preparaten presenteert L.'s dochter MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK¹ de Royal Society dit geschenk van haar vader, waarbij ze om een ontvangstbevestiging vraagt.

## OPMERKINGEN:

De brief is in een andere hand geschreven dan de handtekening. De Engelse vertaling van DOBELL, naar zijn eigen zeggen 'a poor one' (*Little Animals*', blz. 98, aant. 2), verschilt van de hier gepresenteerde vertaling. DOBELL vervolgt met te zeggen: It made no pretensions to scientific knowledge or classical scholarship, and was written not in Latin but in homely, illiterate, and even ungrammatical Dutch.'

MARIA sloot deze brief in bij het kabinetje met microscopen dat ze toevertrouwde aan L.'s achterneef, ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH<sup>2</sup>, die ze op zijn beurt overhandigde aan de Rotterdamse koopman ABRAHAM EDENS<sup>3</sup>. Deze bezorgde het pakket pas op 18 november 1723 bij de Royal Society.

Op deze zelfde dag waarop MARIA deze brief verzond, 4 oktober 1723, stuurde PETRUS GRIBIUS Brief L-592 aan JAMES JURIN, welke ruimschoots vóór MARIA's pakket arriveerde. MARIA's brief werd voorgelezen op de vergadering van de Royal Society van 21 november 1723 O.S., Journal Book, Dl. 13, blz. 320:

Dr. JURIN communicated the Contents of a Letter from Ms LEWENHOECK, in which she gives them advice of having sent the microscopes left by hir Father deseased and desires to hear whether the Society has received them. Dr. JURIN was ordered to write a Letter of thanks in the name of the Society.

Zie voor JURIN's bedankbrief, Brief L-596 van 29 november 1723, in dit deel.

<sup>1</sup> Zie voor Maria van Leeuwenhoek (1656-1745) het Biog. Reg., Alle de Brieven, Dl. 1, blz. 460.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zie voor Arnout van den Berch (1669-1733), Brief L-577 van 13 juni 1722, aant. 16, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Zie voor ABRAHAM EDENS (1690-1765), Brief L-595 van 18 november 1723, aant. 3, in dit deel.

BRIEF Nr. L-591 4 OKTOBER 1723

# Seer voortreffelijke Heeren

Aanstons naar<sup>4</sup> het droevige overlijde van mijn geliefde vader ANTHONIJ VAN LEWENHOEK heb ik besorgt<sup>5</sup> dat door onse seer eer waerde en hoogh geleerden predikant PETERUS GRIEBIUS<sup>6</sup>, dit mijn verlies<sup>7</sup> aan UE Wel Edele is bekent gemaakt, met bij voeginge, dat naar verloop van ses weeken, aande ED Wijt vermaarde, kooninglijke sosijteijt tot Londe soude werden toe gesonde, Een kabinetje met ver Groot Glaase, door mijn Eer waarde vader salijger selver, uijt het mijnerael van silver, heeft gemaakt en bearbeijt<sup>8</sup>, soo als het selve aan UE hoog Edele nu wert toe gesonde, soo alst mijn salige Vader heeft aen gevult, met sesentwintigh vergroot glaasen in haar kasjes<sup>9</sup>, wel in sigh selfs een Geringh geschenk, aan soo een vermaart koninghlijke sosijteijt maar<sup>10</sup> gerigt om daar mede te betuijge mijn vaaders hoogh agtingh, voor soo een hoogh wijsen Geselschap, vande welke mijn seer lieve en waarde vaader saliger de eere heeft gehadt een mede lit te sijn geweest. Nu<sup>11</sup> versoekt U:E:D: onderdaanigst Dienaresse dat UE Wel E:D gelieve, de goet heijt te hebbe mij te laten toe koomen, of dit geringh present aan het wijt ver maarde Colegij wel behandigt is, gewerde<sup>12</sup>, tot een gerustheijt voor mijn dat ik de wille mijns vaders sal hebben voldaen<sup>13</sup>.

Delft den 4e october 1723 N stijl

Waar meede hoogh beroemde Heeren UE Eerbiedigste Dienaresse en mijn vaders Roudragende Dogter, Nu en Naar desen altijt sal sijn en blijve UED onder danigsten Dienaresse

MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK.
ANTONIS Dochter

<sup>5</sup> heb ik besorgt, heb ik ervoor gezorgd.

<sup>4</sup> naar, na.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Zie voor PETRUS GRIBIUS Brief L-589 van 30 augustus 1723 in dit deel.

<sup>7</sup> In het hs. staat door herhaalde verschrijving: 'dit mijn mijn dit mijn verlies'. Het gecursiveerde dit is doorgehaald.

Verwarring van twee constructies: 'door mijn vader gemaakt en afgewerkt' en 'die mijn vader heeft gemaakt en afgewerkt'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> L. maakt dit legaat bekend in Brief 228 [140] L-392 van 2 augustus 1701, Alle de Brieven, Dl. 14.

<sup>10</sup> maar, slechts, alleen maar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In het hs.: geweest nu.

Bij mij te laten toe koomen ontbreekt een lijdend voorwerp, bijv. 'bericht'. - nel behandigt is, gewerde, naar behoren ter hand gesteld is. De komma na is verraadt, dat MARIA in eerste instantie met de lijdende vorm zonder gewerde – d.i. een weinig gebruikelijke bijvorm van geworden – wilde volstaan.

De secretaris van de Royal Society JAMES JURIN voldeed aan het verzoek van MARIA in Brief L-596 van 29 november 1723 (gedateerd 18 november 1723 O.S.), in dit deel. Voor het ontvangstbewijs geschreven door de president van de Royal Society, ISAAC NEWTON, zie Brief L-595 van 18 november 1723 (gedateerd 7 november 1723 O.S.), eveneens in dit deel.

LETTER No. L-591 4 OCTOBER 1723

Addressed to: The Royal Society.

Written by: MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

Manuscript: Signed letter in an unknown hand. The manuscript is to be found in

London, Royal Society, no. 2137, Early Letters L6.38; 1 page.

## PUBLISHED IN:

C. DOBELL 1932: *Antony van Leeuwenhoek and His "Little Animals"*, p. 98 (New York: Harcourt, Brace) – Complete English translation.

#### SUMMARY:

In this cover letter, L.'s daughter MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK<sup>1</sup> presents the Royal Society with her father's bequest of a small cabinet of his hand-made silver microscopes. She asks for the favor of acknowledgment of its receipt.

## **REMARKS:**

The letter is written in a different hand than the signature. DOBELL's English translation, by his own admission "a poor one" ("Little Animals", p. 98, note 2), differs from the translation below. According to DOBELL, the letter "made no pretensions to scientific knowledge or classical scholarship, and was written not in Latin but in homely, illiterate, and even ungrammatical Dutch."

MARIA enclosed the present letter in the cabinet of microscopes that she entrusted to ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH<sup>2</sup>, who in turn handed it over to the Rotterdam merchant ABRAHAM EDENS<sup>3</sup>, who did not deliver the package to the Royal Society until 18 November 1723. On the same day on which MARIA sent this letter, 4 October 1723, PETRUS GRIBIUS sent Letter L-592 to JAMES JURIN, in this volume, which arrived well before MARIA's package. MARIA's letter was read at the 21 November 1723 O.S. meeting of the Royal Society; Royal Society, Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 320:

Dr. JURIN communicated the Contents of a Letter from Ms LEWENHOECK, in which she gives them advice of having sent the microscopes left by hir Father deseased and desires to hear whether the Society has received them. Dr. JURIN was ordered to write a Letter of thanks in the name of the Society.

For JURIN's letter of thanks, see Letter L-596 of 29 November 1723, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For Maria van Leeuwenhoek (1656-1745), see the Biog. Reg., Collected Letters, vol. 1, p. 461.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For Arnout van den Berch (1669-1733), see Letter L-577 of 13 June 1722, note. 13, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For ABRAHAM EDENS (1690-1765), see Letter L-595 of 18 November 1723, note 3, in this volume.

Most eminent sirs,

Immediately after the sad death of my beloved father ANTHONIJ VAN LEWENHOEK, I have seen to it that this loss of mine was made known to Your Honours by our most venerable and highly learned minister PETERUS GRIEBIUS<sup>4</sup>, adding that after six weeks a little cabinet would be sent to the widely famous Royal Society of Your Honours in London with magnifying glasses, which my late honourable father has made himself from the mineral of silver, and given a finishing touch, so as this is now sent to Your Honours such as my late father has further complemented it with twenty-six magnifying glasses in their little cases<sup>5</sup>. To be sure, it is but an insignificant gift, merely sent to such a famous Royal Society in order to express with this my father's high esteem for such a most learned Society, of which my very dear and beloved late father had the honour to have been a Fellow. Now your most humble servant entreats Your Honours that you will be so kind as to let me know whether this little present for the widely famous Society has come to your hands as it should, so that I may be easy that I have carried out the wish of my father<sup>6</sup>.

Delft, the 4th of October 1723 N.S.

With this, highly famous sirs, your most reverent servant and mournful daughter of my father will always be and remain the most humble servant of Your Honours,

> MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK. ANTONI's daughter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For PETRUS GRIBIUS, see Letter L-589 of 30 August 1723, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> L. announced this bequest in Letter 228 [140] L-392 of 2 August 1701, Collected Letters, vol. 14.

Royal Society secretary JAMES JURIN complied with MARIA's request in Letter L-596 of 29 November 1723 (dated 18 November 1723 O.S.), in this volume. For the receipt written by Royal Society president ISAAC NEWTON, see Letter L-595 of 18 November 1723 (dated 7 November 1723 O.S.), also in this volume.

BRIEF Nr. L-592 4 OKTOBER 1723

Gericht aan: JAMES JURIN.

Geschreven door: PETRUS GRIBIUS.

Manuscript: De gesigneerde brief is te vinden bij de Royal Society, Londen, nr. 1215;

Early Letters, G2.4; Latin, 2 blz.

## GEPUBLICEERD IN:

C. DOBELL 1932: Antony van Leeuwenhoek and His Little Animals', p. 97 (New York: Harcourt, Brace) – Volledige Engelse vertaling.

## SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief looft GRIBIUS L. en vraagt JURIN om een klein present, te weten een kabinetje met microscopen die L. aan de Royal Society heeft nagelaten, niet te weigeren.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

Deze brief is op dezelfde dag geschreven als de voorgaande Brief L-591 van MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK aan de Royal Society.

GRIBIUS¹ verzond zijn brief afzonderlijk, maar de Royal Society bevestigde de ontvangst pas nadat ze op 7 november 1723 O.S. het kabinetje met microscopen uit handen van ABRAHAM EDENS² persoonlijk hadden ontvangen. Op die dag werd ook de brief van GRIBIUS voorgelezen tijdens de vergadering van de Royal Society; Royal Society, Journal Book, vol. 13, blz. 315:

A third Latin Letter from Mr. GRIBIUS to Dr. JURIN<sup>3</sup> dated 3<sup>d</sup> of October<sup>4</sup> was communicated and read wherein he gives advice that Mr. LEEUWENHOECKS daughter had sent the Society her father's Legacy of the Box of Microscopes and desired to be certified by a Letter of the Safe arrival of the same.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Zie voor Petrus Gribius (1651-1739) Brief L-589 van 30 augustus 1723, aant. 2, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zie voor ABRAHAM EDENS (1690-1765) Brief L-595 van 18 november 1723, aant. 3, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Zie voor JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> De datum moet 4 oktober zijn.

BRIEF Nr. L-592 **4 OKTOBER 1723** 

Celeberrimo Doctissimoque Viro JOHANNI JURIN<sup>5</sup> Regiae Societati a Secretis Dignissimo S.P. PETRUS GRIBIUS Ecclesiae Delphensis pastor senex.

Pro aetate nostra philosophica censuit ὁ Μακαρίτης ANTONIUS A LEEUWENHOEK, id quod verum est in physicis non posse felicius investigari quam per methodúm experimentalem, suffultam testimonio sensuúm; ob hanc causam pro industria sua et labore indefesso proprià manú praestantissima confecit specilla, quorúm ope múlta detexit naturae arcana, per totum Orbem philosophicúm celebrata; cujus sacrae suppellectilis partem non spernendam, et per se ipsúm huic arcúlae inclúsam, adscripsit Regiae Societati, non alio fine quam út perspicacissimi illi viri et longe eruditissimi tessellam habeant súae venerationis, et grati animi indiciúm quod in eorum sapientem chorum fúerit adscriptús.

Id unúm enixè rogar ejus Filia, laúdata Virgo, quae caelibatúm matrimonio praetúlit, quo possit suo parenti a perpetuo esse servitio, ut rescribere non dedigneris munusculum hoc non deviasse, set sincerè pervenisse ad tuas manus: quod etiam de meis litteris, ante quinque septimanas tibi non laetificanter scriptis, plane confido.

Deum precor vir praeclarissime, te philosophiae magnum et rarum lumen, stellamque primae magnitudinis diú lucere patiatur.

Delphis Batavorium die quarto nonarum Octobr: MDCCXXIII

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> JURINS naam is 'James', de Latijnse vorm daarvan is 'Jacobus', niet 'Joannes'.

LETTER No. L-592 4 OCTOBER 1723

*Addressed to*: JAMES JURIN.

Written by: Petrus Gribius.

Manuscript: The signed autograph letter is to be found in London, Royal Society, no.

1215; Early Letters G2.4; Latin, 2 pages.

## PUBLISHED IN:

C. DOBELL 1932: *Antony van Leeuwenhoek and His "Little Animals"*, p. 97 (New York: Harcourt, Brace) – Complete English translation.

#### SUMMARY:

In this letter, PETRUS GRIBIUS eulogises L. and asks JURIN not to refuse a little present, the cabinet of microscopes that L. bequeathed to the Royal Society.

#### **REMARKS:**

The present letter was written in Latin on the same day as MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK'S Letter L-591 to the Royal Society, in this volume.

GRIBIUS<sup>1</sup> sent his letter separately, but the Royal Society did not acknowledge its receipt, until they had received the cabinet of microscopes from the hands of ABRAHAM EDENS<sup>2</sup> in person on 7 November 1723 O.S. On that day, GRIBIUS's letter was read at the meeting of the Royal Society; see Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 315:

A third Latin Letter from Mr. GRIBIUS to Dr. JURIN<sup>3</sup> dated 3<sup>d</sup> of October<sup>4</sup> was communicated and read wherein he gives advice that Mr. LEEUWENHOECKS daughter had sent the Society her father's Legacy of the Box of Microscopes and desired to be certified by a Letter of the Safe arrival of the same.

DOBELL's translation differs slightly from the translation presented here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For Petrus Gribius (1651-1739), see Letter L-589 of 30 August 1723, n. 2, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For ABRAHAM EDENS (1690-1765), see Letter L-595 of 18 November 1723, n. 3, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The date should be 4 October.

LETTER NO. L-592 4 OCTOBER 1723

To the most famous and learned gentleman JOANNES JURIN<sup>5</sup>
Most worthy secretary of the Royal Society PETRUS GRIBIUS<sup>6</sup>
Eldest minister of the Church in Delft Sends many greetings.

In accordance with the philosophy of our age, the blessed ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK was of the opinion that what is true in physics cannot be investigated more successfully than via the experimental method, supported by the testimony of the senses. For this reason, he fashioned, in accordance with his diligence and indefatigable labor, with his own hands most excellent glasses, with the help of which he discovered many secrets of nature, praised by the entire philosophical world. A not inconsiderable part of this sacred treasure, which has been included in this cabinet by himself, he has bequeathed to the Royal Society, with no other purpose than that those most perspicacious and very learned gentlemen would have a token of his veneration and a proof of his gratitude that he was enrolled in their wise chorus.

There is one thing only, for which his daughter, the praiseworthy virgin, who preferred celibacy to marriage in order to be able to be permanently at the service of her parent<sup>7</sup>, asks earnestly: that you will not refuse to write back that this little gift has not gone astray, but has truly arrived in your hands; which I also by all means trust that is the case with regard to my letter, written, not with any joy, to you some five weeks ago<sup>8</sup>.

I pray to God, most famous sir, that he will allow you, great and rare light of philosophy, and star of the first magnitude, long to shine.

At Delft in Holland, on the 4th of October 1723.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> JURIN's name is James, the Latin for which is Jacobus, not Joannes.

<sup>6</sup> This is GRIBIUS's second and final letter to JURIN, who replied with Letter L-598 of 29 November 1723, in this volume.

ODBELL translates laudata virgo, quo celibatum matrimonio pretulit as "a spinster of excellent repute, who has preferred a single life to matrimony".

<sup>8</sup> GRIBIUS's first letter to JURIN, Letter L-589 of 30 August 1723, in this volume, announces L.'s death.

BRIEF Nr. L-593 12 OKTOBER 1723

Gericht aan: PETRUS GRIBIUS.

Geschreven door. JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Het Latijnse handschrift van de kladbrief (minuut) bevindt zich bij de

Wellcome Library, Londen, MS 6146, nr. 76; 2 blz. Op de buitenkant staat

geschreven: 'To Mr Gribius. / Oct. 1st 1723.'

## GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: *The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750)*, (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), brief 86. – Engelse vertaling van het Latijnse origineel.

## SAMENVATTING:

In deze brief betreurt JAMES JURIN het overlijden van L. en moedigt hij, in antwoord op het verzoek van GRIBIUS, de dochter van L. aan om het kabinetje met instrumenten die hij heeft nagelaten aan de Royal Society op te sturen.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

De datum is Nieuwe Stijl, elf dagen later dan de Oude Stijl-datum van 1 oktober die JURIN in Londen gebruikte.

JAMES JURIN, secretaris van de Royal Society en redacteur van de *Philosophical Transactions*, antwoordt op Brief L-589 van GRIBIUS van 30 augustus 1723. Het antwoord kruiste Brief L-592 van GRIBIUS van 4 oktober 1723, evenals Brief L-591 van MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK van de dezelfde datum, die betrekking had op het pakket van haar vaders legaat van 26 microscopen.

Het Latijnse handschrift bevat enkele doorgestreepte woorden en tussenvoegsels. GRIBIUS zal een nette kopie hebben ontvangen.

BRIEF Nr. L-593 12 OKTOBER 1723

Reverendo ac longe Clarissimo Vero, D.D. PETRO GRIBIO Ecclesiae Delphensis Pastori Doctissimo S.P.D. JACOBUS JURIN, R.S. Lond. Secr.

Quas ad me dedisti litteras, Vir Doctissime, lugubrem sane & acerbum nuntium ferentes de morte Optimi Senis, ejusdemque indefessi Natura Operum Senutatoris, ANTONIJ A LEEUWENHOEK, intermittente solennes coetus Societate Regia, Londino abessem, eo tardius ad manus nostras pensenerunt.

Quantum damni in ille Viro fecerit Respublica Erudita, y sane intelligunt, qui scripta ejus inventis pulchersimis utilissimisque referta, diligenter pervolverunt; nemd tamen aut magis sentiet, aut plus dolebit, quam Societas Regalis, cui tristisiemum hunc nuntium, quam primum coetus hebdomadales redintegrabit, quod tribus fere abhinc septimanis faciet, communicabimus.

Arculam interim lectissimis specillis instructam, quam Societate Regia, tanquam supremiamoni pignus, legatam voluit, ne dubitet, oro, lectissima Femina, Magni Parentis digna Filia, ad me transmittere; cui ego, meo nomine salutem dicas, meque tibi addictissimum credam. Vale.

Dabam Londini Calendis Octobris 1723 <sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Deze datum is 1 oktober 1723 Oude Stijl., ofwel 12 oktober 1723 Nieuwe Stijl.

LETTER No. L-593 12 OCTOBER 1723

Addressed to: Petrus Gribius.

Written by: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: The Latin manuscript of the draft letter is to be found in London,

Wellcome Library MS 6146, no. 76; 2 pp. On the outside, "To Mr

Gribius. / Oct. 1st 1723."

## PUBLISHED IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi, 1996), letter 86. -- English translation of the Latin original.

## SUMMARY:

In this letter, JAMES JURIN laments L.'s death and, in response to GRIBIUS's request, encourages L.'s daughter to send the cabinet with instruments he bequeathed to the Royal Society.

## **REMARKS:**

The date is New Style, which was eleven days ahead of the Old Style date of 1 October used by JURIN in London. The translation here, made by Mr. BERNARD SIMS, is from RUSNOCK, used with permission.

Royal Society secretary and *Philosophical Transactions* editor JAMES JURIN is replying to GRIBIUS's Letter L-589 of 30 August 1723. The reply crossed paths with GRIBIUS's Letter L-592 of 4 October 1723, as well as MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK's Letter L-591, of the same date, covering the package of her father's bequest of 26 microscopes.

The Latin manuscript has some crossed-out words and insertions. GRIBIUS will have received a fair copy.

LETTER No. L-593 12 OCTOBER 1723

To the Reverend and Most Distinguished Man PETRUS GRIBIUS<sup>1</sup>
The Most learned Pastor of the Church at Delft Heartiest greetings from JAMES JURIN<sup>2</sup>,
Secretary of the Royal Society of London

Your letter to me<sup>3</sup>, most learned sir, bringing the most sad and bitter news of the death of that grand old man, an indefatigable investigator of nature, ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK, has come the more tardily into our hands, because the Royal Society has finished its meetings for the year and I have been outside London.

What a loss the Republic of Learning has suffered in that man, those well know who have carefully perused his writings, filled with the most elegant and useful discoveries. But none will feel more than the Royal Society, or grieve more, to whom I shall impart this sad news -- as soon as it resumes its meetings, which it will do in about three weeks' time.

Meanwhile, I beg that his dear lady, the worthy daughter of a great parent, may not hesitate to send me the case fitted with delicate instruments which he bequeathed to the Royal Society as a token of his highest regard<sup>4</sup>. I ask you therefore to convey to her my greetings, and believe that I am your most devoted friend. Farewell<sup>5</sup>.

Given at London 1 October 1723.

For Petrus Gribius (1651-1739), see his first letter to Jurin, Letter L-589 of 30 August 1723, n. 2, in this volume.

For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 (dated 22 February 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Letter L-589 of 30 August 1723, in this volume, in which GRIBIUS asks permission for MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK to send L.'s bequest.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> MARIA had already sent the cabinet of microscopes and specimens under a cover letter. See Letter L-591 of 4 October 1723, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Gribius's second and final letter to Jurin is Letter L-592 of 4 October 1723, in this volume.

BRIEF Nr. L-594 20 OKTOBER 1723

Gericht aan: de Royal Society.

Geschreven door. ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH.

Manuscript: Gesigneerde autograaf bij de Royal Society, Londen, Early Letters B2.101;

1 blz. Op de omslag: 'Mr. Van den Berch, Oct. 20th 1723'.

#### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

Niet eerder gepubliceerd.

#### SAMENVATTING:

In deze begeleidende Engelstalige brief vertelt VAN DEN BERCH de Royal Society dat ABRAHAM EDENS¹ het kabinet met microscopen van L. gaat afleveren. Hij voegt eraan toe dat EDENS hoopt de 'curiosa' te zien bij de Royal Society. Hij vroeg ook om aan EDENS een ontvangstbewijs te geven.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

VAN DEN BERCH's beheersing van de Engelse taal was voldoende voor deze opdracht, hoewel hij bij zijn spelling de Nederlandse -ij niet van de Engelse -y onderscheidde. Het Journal Book van de Royal Society, Dl. 13, blz. 315-16, vermeldt op 7 november 1723 O.S.:

Mr. ABRAHAM EDEN[S] delivered to the Society a box marked AVL wherein was inclosed a small Japan cabinet containing 5 drawers full of cases of microscopes, with a letter from Mr. ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH cousin to Mrs Leeuwenhoek wherein he desires the Society to give Mr. EDEN a receipt for the same. Which was accordingly done. And Mrs Leeuwenhoek was ordered thanks for her care in sending over her father's legacy. Thanks were also ordered to Mr. Gribius, Mr. Van Den Berch and Mr. EDEN[S] for the trouble they had taken in this affair.

Zie voor het ontvangstbewijs, geschreven door de president van de Royal Society, ISAAC NEWTON Brief L-595 van 18 november 1723 (gedateerd 7 november 1723 O.S.). Zie voor de brieven van GRIBIUS Brief L-589 van 30 augustus 1723 en Brief L-592 van 4 oktober 1723. Zie voor ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH (1669-1733) Brief L-577 van 13 juni 1722 van L. aan de JAMES JURIN, aant. 16.

VAN DEN BERCH was de kleinzoon van L.'s oom langs moederszijde JOHAN JACOBS VAN DEN BERCH.

Zie voor de bedankbrieven van JURIN Brief L-596 aan MARIA VAN LEEUWEN-HOEK, Brief L-597 aan ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH en Brief L-598 aan PETRUS GRIBIUS, alle van 29 november 1723 (gedateerd 18 november 1723 O.S.), in dit deel.

<sup>1</sup> Zie voor ABRAHAM EDENS (1690-1765) Brief L-595 van 18 november 1723, in dit deel.

ABRAHAM EDENS (1690-1765) Brief L-595 van 18 november 1723, in

Addressed to: the Royal Society.

Written by: ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH.

Manuscript: Signed fair copy of the letter. The manuscript is to be found in London,

Royal Society, Early Letters B2.101; 1 page. On the cover: 'Mr. Van den

Berch, Oct. 20th 1723'.

## PUBLISHED IN:

Not published before.

## SUMMARY:

In this cover letter, VAN DEN BERCH tells the Royal Society that ABRAHAM EDENS will deliver the cabinet with L.'s microscopes. He adds that EDENS hopes to see the "curiosities" at the Royal Society. He also asks that EDENS be given a receipt.

#### **REMARKS:**

VAN DEN BERCH'S English was adequate for this task, although his spelling does not distinguish the Dutch *-ij* from the English *-y*. The Royal Society's Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 315, mentions for 7 November 1723 (O.S):

Mr. ABRAHAM EDEN delivered to the Society a box marked AVL wherein was inclosed a small Japan cabinet containing 5 drawers full of cases of microscopes, with a letter from Mr. ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH cousin to Mrs Leeuwenhoek wherein he desires the Society to give Mr. EDEN a receipt for the same. Which was accordingly done. And Mrs Leeuwenhoek was ordered thanks for her care in sending over her father's legacy. Thanks were also ordered to Mr. Gribius, Mr. Van Den Berch and Mr. Eden for the trouble they had taken in this affair.

For the receipt, written by Royal Society president ISAAC NEWTON, see Letter L-595 of 18 November 1723 (dated 7 November 1723 O.S.). For GRIBIUS's letters, see Letter L-589 of 30 August 1723 and Letter L-592 of 4 October 1723. For ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH (1669-1733), see Letter L-577 of 13 June 1722 from L. to JAMES JURIN, n. 13.

 $\ensuremath{\text{VAN}}$  DEN BERCH was the grandson of L.'s maternal uncle Johan Jacobs van den Berch.

For JURIN's letters of thanks, see Letter L-596 to MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK, Letter L-597 to ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH, and Letter L-598 to PETRUS GRIBIUS, all of 29 November 1723 (dated 18 November 1723 O.S.) and all in this volume.

LETTER No. L-594 20 OCTOBER 1723

The Worthij Members of the Royal Society

Gentleman,

Being desired bij mij cousin [MARIA] VAN LEWENHOEK¹ is these to forward to you a small box which Mr ANTHONIJ VAN LEWENHOEK her father descist, by his last will has left to your Royal Sosietij², the contens thereof is, as by memorandum there inclosed, the glasses and frames &c: are all made bij descist gentlemans owne hands, and hee used to have a great value for them this box markt AVL & sealed, will be delivered to you, bij the bearer here of mij cousin³ ABRAHAM EDENS⁴, whoe now departing for London, was glad to take the charge herof uppon him, hee being an admirer of Arts, and in hopes by this, to have occasion of seing the curiosities which are to bee seene in your Royal Sosietij to which if you please to give him an oportunitij mij cousin LEWENHOEK with mee will take it as a favour. Wee desire you to give a receit⁵ of the box whin [...] to said M. EDENS, and you will oblige who wishes you prosperitij in your undertakings, & remains

Gentleman Your humble

ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH.

Rotterdam the 20 of october 1723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For Maria van Leeuwenhoek (1656-1745), see the Biog. Reg., Collected Letters, vol. 2, p. 461.

On 17 November 1721, L. and MARIA presented to notary JAN DE BRIES the will that L. wrote by hand on 17 November and amended on 26 November (Delft city archive no. 161 Oud Notarieel Archief, inv. 2415J, fol. 596). See also BEYDALS, "Twee Testamenten".

Nothing is known about a family relationship between ABRAHAM EDENS and ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For ABRAHAM EDENS (c. 1690-1765), see Letter L-595 of 18 November 1723, n. 3, in this volume

This receipt is indeed presented on 18 November 1723 (dated 7 November 1723 O.S.) from ISAAC NEWTON to EDENS. See Letter L-595, in this volume.

Gericht aan: ABRAHAM EDENS.

Geschreven door: ISAAC NEWTON.

Manuscript: Huidige verblijfplaats onbekend. Dit document was in 1947 in het bezit

van de Nederlandse geofysicus Prof. Dr. FELIX ANDRIES VENING MEINESZ (1887–1966). Hoe deze hoogleraar dit afgiftebewijs heeft verworven is onbekend. Het document moet ooit deel hebben uitgemaakt van de nalatenschap van hetzij ABRAHAM EDENS, hetzij

MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

#### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

ABRAHAM SCHIERBEEK 1947: 'Van Leeuwenhoek's schenking van 26 microscopen aan de Royal Sociëty', *Nederlandsch tijdschrift voor geneeskunde*, Dl. 91, blz. 708-709.

ÄBRAHAM SCHIERBEEK 1950: Antoni van Leeuwenhoek: zijn leven en zijn werken, Deel 1, Lochem: De Tijdstroom, blz. 85.

H.L. HOUTZAGER 1991: 'De microscopische nalatenschap van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek', Jaarboek Genootschap Delfia Batavorum, blz. 42.

#### SAMENVATTING:

ISAAC NEWTON, als president van de Royal Society, bevestigt de ontvangst van het legaat van L. van een kistje met 26 microscopen die door ABRAHAM EDENS¹ naar de Royal Society is gebracht.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

De datum is Nieuwe Stijl, elf dagen later dan de Oude Stijl-datum van 7 november 1723 die NEWTON in Londen gebruikte. Het bezoek van EDENS aan de Royal Society is vermeld in het Journal Book, Dl. 13, blz. 315, voor 7 November 1723 O.S.:

Mr. ABRAHAM EDEN delivered to the Society a box marked AVL wherein was inclosed a small Japan cabinet containing 5 drawers full of cases of microscopes, with a letter from Mr. ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH cousin to Mrs. LEEUWENHOEK<sup>2</sup> wherein he desires the Society to give Mr. EDENS a receipt for the same, which was accordingly done.

Zie voor de brief van VAN DEN BERCH, Brief L-594 van 20 oktober 1723, in dit deel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Zie voor ABRAHAM EDENS (1690-1765), noot 2 bij de Engelse Brief L-595, hierna.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> L. en VAN DEN BERCH waren 'neven' omdat VAN DEN BERCH's grootvader JOHAN JACOBS VAN DEN BERCH een oom van L. was.

Addressed to: ABRAHAM EDENS.

Written by: ISAAC NEWTON.

Manuscript: Current whereabouts unknown. This document was in the possession of

the Dutch geophysicist Prof. dr. Dr. FELIX ANDRIES VENING MEINESZ (1887–1966). It is unknown how this professor acquired this certificate of receipt. The document must once have been part of the estate of

either ABRAHAM EDENS or MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

## PUBLISHED IN:

ABRAHAM SCHIERBEEK 1947: 'Van Leeuwenhoek's schenking van 26 microscopen aan de Royal Sociëty', *Nederlandsch tijdschrift voor geneeskunde*, vol. 91, pp. 708-709.

ABRAHAM SCHIERBEEK 1950: *Antoni van Leeuwenhoek: zijn leven en zijn werken*, vol. 1, Lochem: De Tijdstroom, p. 85.

H.L. HOUTZAGER 1991: 'De microscopische nalatenschap van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek', Historisch Jaarboek voor Delft, p. 42.

#### SUMMARY:

ISAAC NEWTON as president of the Royal Society acknowledges the receipt of L.'s bequest of a cabinet with 26 microscopes brought to the Royal Society by ABRAHAM EDENS.

## **REMARKS:**

The date is New Style, which was eleven days ahead of the Old Style date of 7 November used by NEWTON in London. EDENS's visit to the Royal Society is noted in the Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 315, for 7 November 1723 O.S.:

Mr. ABRAHAM EDEN delivered to the Society a box marked AVL wherein was inclosed a small Japan cabinet containing 5 drawers full of cases of microscopes, with a letter from Mr. ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH cousin to Mrs. LEEUWENHOEK<sup>1</sup> wherein he desires the Society to give Mr. EDENS a receipt for the same, which was accordingly done.

For VAN DEN BERCH's letter, see Letter L-594 of 20 October 1723, in this volume.

L. and VAN DEN BERCH were "cousins" because VAN DEN BERCH's grandfather JOHAN JACOBS VAN DEN BERCH was L.'s uncle.

Crane Courb Nov. 7 1723

The Royal Pointy have this day, received at their meeting, a Cabinet containing twenty six microscopes, left to them by if late ms Antony van Leeuwenhock, & brought over by Mr Abraham Edens.

Isaac Nowton P.R.S.

Crane Court Nov. 7th 1723

The Royal Society have this day received at their meeting, a Cabinet containing twenty-six microscopes, left to them by the late Mr ANTONY VAN LEEUWENHOEK, & brought over by Mr ABRAHAM EDENS<sup>2</sup>.

ISAAC NEWTON P.R.S.<sup>3</sup>

ABRAHAM EDENS (c. 1690-1765) was a wealthy Rotterdam merchant. He owned a plantation in Surinam and had interests in the shipping trade throughout Europe and among the Dutch-controlled lands in the Americas and Asia. In 1731, interested parties could sign up with him for lessons in Newtonian physics that were then given in Rotterdam by Newton's former assistant JOHN THEOPHILUS DESAGULIERS. At the auction of L.'s microscopes in 1747, EDENS bought two silver and 15 copper microscopes, among them one of the two large fish viewers (vischkijkers). He also bought 12 of the unassembled lenses. In 1765, when his own cabinet of experimental philosophy was auctioned, EDENS possessed only three of these microscopes and eight of the lenses. See VAN DER AA, Biog. Woordenboek der Nederlanden, vol. III, p. 705-706, ZUIDERVAART & ANDERSON, "Antony van Leeuwenhoek's microscopes and other scientific instruments", EDENS, Verzameling van een party konst-gereedschappen, and REES, Catalogus van het Vermaarde Cabinet van Vergrootglasen. For a survey of EDENS's life and collections, see HOFTIJZER, "An eighteenth-century amateur of books and science in Warmond".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ISAAC NEWTON (1643-1727) was President of the Royal Society from 1703 to 1727.

# BRIEF Nr. L-596

Gericht aan: MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

Geschreven door. JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Een contemporain afschrift van JURINs brief bevindt zich in de Wellcome

Collection, Londen, MS. 6143, nr. 6, 2 blz.

# GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi, 1996), brief 93.

# SAMENVATTING:

JAMES JURIN bedankt in deze brief MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK voor het versturen van het legaat van haar vader aan de Royal Society.

## OPMERKINGEN:

De datum is Nieuwe Stijl, elf dagen later dan de Oude Stijl-datum van 18 november die door JURIN in Londen werd gebruikt.

Zie voor secretaris van de Royal Society en redacteur van de *Philosophical Transactions* JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 in dit deel.

Addressed to: MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

Written by: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: A contemporary copy of JURIN's letter is to be found in London,

Wellcome Collection, MS. 6143, no. 6, 2 pp.

# PUBLISHED IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), letter 93.

## SUMMARY:

In this letter, JAMES JURIN thanks MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK for sending her father's bequest to the Royal Society.

## **REMARKS:**

The date is New Style, which was eleven days ahead of the Old Style date of 18 November used by JURIN in London. The spelling and punctuation have been modernized.

For Royal Society secretary and *Philosophical Transactions* editor JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722, in this volume.

Nov 18th 17231

Madam, Crane Court,

If it were possible for anything to make an addition to the honour, esteem, and affection which the Royal Society has ever born to your worthy father, while living, and which they will always continue to pay to his memory, it must be the valuable present, which he was pleased to bequeath to them by his last will and testament and which they have safely received by the hands of your kinsman, Mr ABRAHAM EDENS<sup>2</sup>. They have thereby had the pleasure of being eyewitnesses of the exactness of many of his observations, and of the excellency of his glasses. But neither of these considerations does so much enhance the value of this legacy as that it was the last mark of the affection of their oldest and most valuable correspondent. I am ordered, Madam, by the Society<sup>3</sup> to return you their most affectionate and particular thanks for the care you have been pleased to take in transmitting this present to them, and to assure you in their name, that they sincerely take part in the affliction occasioned by the loss of so good a father and so great a man, nor only to yourself but to the whole learned world. Give me leave to assure you that my own particular sentiments herein are entirely agreeable to those of the Royal Society, in consequence of that share of his friendship with which Mr LEEUWENHOEK was pleased to honour me, and that I am with the greatest sincerity and respect, Madam<sup>4</sup>,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

J. JURIN. R.S. Secr.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is the first of JURIN's two letters to MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK. For her, see the Biog. Reg., *Collected Letters*, vol. 2, p. 461.

With "kinsman", JURIN is mistaken. No evidence is known of any family relationship between MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK and ABRAHAM EDENS. For ABRAHAM EDENS (1690-1765), see Letter L-595 of 18 November 1723, n. 2, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Royal Society, Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 320.

JURIN's final letter to MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK is Letter L-601 of 13 June 1724 (dated 2 June 1723), in this volume.

Gericht aan: ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH.

Geschreven door. JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Een contemporaine kopie van JURIN's brief bevindt zich bij de Wellcome

Collection, Londen, MS. 6143, nr. 5; 2 blz.

# GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: *The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750)*, (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), brief 92.

# SAMENVATTING:

JAMES JURIN bedankt in deze brief ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH voor de veilige aflevering van het kabinet met de microscopen van L. aan de Royal Society.

# OPMERKINGEN:

De datum is Nieuwe Stijl, elf dagen later dan de Oude Stijl-datum van 18 november die door JURIN in Londen werd gebruikt.

Dit is de eerste van twee brieven die JURIN aan VAN DEN BERCH stuurde. De andere brief is Brief L-600 van 2 juni 1724.

Zie voor JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722. Zie voor ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH (1669-1733) Brief L-577 van L. aan JURIN van 13 juni 1722, noot 13. Beide brieven staan in dit deel.

Addressed to: ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH.

Written by: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: A contemporary copy of JURIN's letter is to be found in London,

Wellcome Collection, MS. 6143, no. 5; 2 pp.

# PUBLISHED IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), letter 92.

## SUMMARY:

In this letter, JAMES JURIN thanks ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH for the safe delivery of the cabinet of L.'s microscopes to the Royal Society.

## **REMARKS:**

The date is New Style, which was eleven days ahead of the Old Style date of 18 November used by JURIN in London. The spelling has been modernized.

This is the first of two letters JURIN sent to VAN DEN BERCH. The other letter is Letter L-600 of 2 June 1724.

For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722. For ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH (1669-1733) see Letter L-577 of L. to JURIN of 13 June 1722, n. 13. Both letters are in this volume.

Crane Court, London Nov. 18th 1723<sup>1</sup>

Worthy Sir<sup>2</sup>,

The box of microscopes bequeathed by the late excellent Mr LEEUWENHOEK to the Royal Society, was safely brought over and delivered to them at one of their late meetings by your cousin Mr EDENS<sup>3</sup>. The Society think themselves so much obliged to that gentleman for the care he took of the safe conveying and delivering it, that he may at all times have access with the utmost freedom to satisfy his curiosity with the sight of anything in their possession. They have the same sense of their obligations to you, on account of the trouble you have been pleased to give yourself in this affair, for which I am commanded to return you their particular and hearty thanks. This I do with the greatest pleasure, and am with due respect, sir<sup>4</sup>,

Your most obedient humble servant

J. JURIN, R.S. Secr. 5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is the first of two letters that JURIN sent to VAN DEN BERCH. For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722, in this volume.

For ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH (1669-1733), see Letter L-577 from L. to JURIN of 13 June 1722, n. 13, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> EDENS presented the cabinet with L.'s microscopes to the Royal Society on 7 November 1723 O.S.; Royal Society, Journal Books, vol. 12. See ISAAC NEWTON's receipt, Letter L-596 of 18 November 1723 (dated 7 November 1723 O.S.). Although VAN DEN BERCH referred to EDENS as a "cousin" in Letter L-594 of 20 October 1723 that he wrote to the Royal Society, there is no known family relationship between them. For ABRAHAM EDENS (c. 1690-1765), see Letter L-595 of 18 November 1723, n. 2. All three letters are in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> JURIN's next and last letter to VAN DEN BERCH is Letter L-600 of 2 June 1724, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), see Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722, in this volume.

Gericht aan: PETRUS GRIBIUS.

Geschreven door: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Een eigentijds afschrift is te vinden in Londen, Wellcome Collection, MS.

6146, nr. 77; 2 blz. Op de omslag staat abusievelijk: 'To Mr. Gribius, Nov.

18th 1723". De datum op de brief is 14 december 1723 (O.S.).

## GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), brief 96.

## SAMENVATTING:

JAMES JURIN bedankt in deze brief PETRUS GRIBIUS voor de veilige aflevering via ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH en ABRAHAM EDENS van het kabinet met de microscopen van L. aan de Royal Society.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

De datum is Nieuwe Stijl, elf dagen later dan de Oude Stijl-datum van 14 december die JURIN in Londen gebruikte.

RUSNOCK zegt dat al deze brieven worden genoemd in Journal Book Dl. 12, en niet in Dl. 13. Ten onrechte dateert zij deze brief op 17 december 1723. JURIN schreef namelijk aan het einde 'xiv Calend Decembr 1723' en op de omslag 'To Mr. Gribius Nov. 18th 1723', d.w.z. 29 november 1723 N.S.

Zie voor JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 (gedateerd 22 februari 1722 O.S.). Zie voor PETRUS GRIBIUS, Brief L-589 van 30 augustus 1723, voor ABRAHAM EDENS, Brief L-595 van 18 November 1723 en voor ARNOUT (ARNOLPHUS) VAN DEN BERCH, Brief L-576 van 13 juni 1722. Alle vier brieven staan in dit deel. Een familierelatie met EDENS is niet bekend.

Reverendo Doctissimo Viro PETRO GRIBIO, Ecclesiae Delphensis Pastori Vigilantissimo S.P.D. JACOBUS JURIN R.S. Lond. Secr.

Priores nostras, eodem fere tempore cum postremis tuis literis scriptas, incolumes ad te pervenisse confidimus. Interea temporis asculum LEEUWENHOECKIANAM, mole quidem exiguam, sed κεμκλίοιζ longe pretiorissimis, Societate Regia studiose & magna voluptate judice, refertam, lustravimus. Eam attulerat Vir Optimus ABRAHAMUS EDENS, a Consobrino suo D<sup>no</sup> ARNOLPHUS VAN DEN BERCH curae suae concreditam, qui in catu Societatis Regiae munus eximium obtulit, & <u>operae metuun in eodem conservando diligentes navatae, Societatis Regiae gratias praesens accepit</u>. Tibi auter, Vir Ornatissime, ut quasitissimas grates suo nomine persolverem coetus universus decrevit. Id vero ego tum lubens alucerque facio, tum Deum veneros Optimum Maximum ut te Ecclesiae sua & orbi Erudite diatissime conservet. Vale.

Dabam Londini xiv Calend. Decembr. 1723

Addressed to: Petrus Gribius.

Written by: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: A contemporary copy of JURINs draft letter is to be found in London,

Wellcome Collection, MS. 6146, no. 77; 2 pp. On the cover is stated: "To

Mr. Gribius, Nov. 18th 1723".

#### PUBLISHED IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: *The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750)*, (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), letter 96.

## SUMMARY:

In this letter, JAMES JURIN thanks PETRUS GRIBIUS for the safe delivery to the Royal Society, via ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH and ABRAHAM EDENS, of the cabinet with L.'s microscopes.

## **REMARKS:**

At the end this letter is dated as: "xiv Calend Decembr 1723". In this case JURIN uses a rather unusual method of dating, namely the ancient Roman calendar. This calendar counts back a number of days from the Kalends, or the first day of the subsequent month, in this case 14 days. In this counting, the Kalends itself is also included. This brings the date to 18 November 1723 O.S., which is indeed noted on the cover of this letter. According to the New Style dating, this is 29 November 1723. The translation below is the translation in RUSNOCK by Mr. BERNARD SIMS, used with permission. Rusnock erroneously dates it 17 December 1723.

On the same date, JURIN also wrote the previous Letters L-596 and L-597, addressed to to ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH and MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK. RUSNOCK mistakenly dates this letter to 17 December 1723 O.S.

For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 (dated 22 February 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

To that most reverend and learned man PETRUS GRIBIUS<sup>1</sup>,
The most vigilant pastor of the church at Delft

Heartiest greetings from JAMES JURIN<sup>2</sup>
Secretary of the Royal Society of London

We trust our former letter, written almost at the same time as your last one<sup>3</sup>, reached you safely. Meanwhile we have examined carefully and with much pleasure LEEUWENHOEK's cabinet, small in size, but crammed full with the most precious treasures, in the judgement of the Royal Society<sup>4</sup>. That excellent man ABRAHAM EDENS<sup>5</sup> had brought it, as it was entrusted to him by his cousin Master ARNOLPHUS VAN DEN BERCH<sup>6</sup>, and he presented this splendid gift in a meeting of the Royal Society<sup>7</sup>, and received in person the thanks of the Society for his services in preserving it, of which he gave us a full account. But to you, Distinguished Sir, the Society unanimously resolved that I should convey to you (in its name) its most special thanks. I gladly both transmit to you and at the same time pray that the Almighty and Gracious God will very long preserve you for his church and for the world of learning. Farewell.

Given at London 17 December 17238

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For PETRUS GRIBIUS, see Letter L-589 of 30 August 1723, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> JURIN's previous letter to GRIBIUS is Letter L-593 of 12 October (dated 1 October O.S.), in this volume, a response to GRIBIUS's Letter L-589 of 30 August 1723 announcing L.'s death. Both letters are in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Gribius's Letter L-592 of 4 October 1723 to Jurin, which he wrote before he received Jurin's 1 October O.S. response to his Letter L-589 of 30 August 1723. Both letters are in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This cabinet had 26 of L.'s microscopes, specimens still attached. L. announces the bequest to the Royal Society in Letter 228 [140] L-392 of 2 August 1701, *Collected Letters*, vol. 14. MARTIN FOLKES describes and discusses the bequest in the *Philosophical Transactions*. See Letter L-599, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For ABRAHAM EDENS (c. 1690-1765), see Letter L-595 of 18 November 1723, in this volume.

For Arnout (Arnolphus) van Den Berch and his familial relationship with L., see Letter L-576 of 13 June 1722, n. 13, in this volume. No familial relationship with EDENS is known.

DEENS presented L.'s microscopes to the Royal Society on 18 November (7 November 1723 O.S.), Journal Book, vol. 13, p. 315. For ISAAC NEWTON's receipt, see Letter L-595 of 18 November 1723 (7 November 1723 O.S.), in this volume.

<sup>8</sup> This is JURIN's final letter to GRIBIUS.

BRIEF Nr. L-599 JANUARI 1724

Geschreven door: MARTIN FOLKES.

Manuscript: Het manuscript bevindt zich bij de Royal Society, Londen, Classified

papers, CLP.2.17, 7 pages. Een eigentijdse kopie is te vinden in het

Register Book 11.107, blz. 416, 8 pagina's.

#### GEPUBLICEERD IN:

M. FOLKES 1723: 'Some account of Mr. Leeuwenhoek's curious Microscopes, lately presented to the Royal Society,' *Philosophical Transactions*, Dl. 32, nr. 380, blz. 446-453.

#### SAMENVATTING:

MARTIN FOLKES beschrijft en bespreekt het kabinetje met 26 microscopen, en de bijgevoegde en hier opgesomde preparaten, die L. aan de Royal Society heeft nagelaten. Hij bespreekt ook vaardigheid van L. in het slijpen van lenzen en het voorbereiden van preparaten als zijnde essentieel voor zijn prestaties. Omdat sommige ontdekkingen van L. al werden bevestigd, is er geen reden om zijn andere waarnemingen te wantrouwen.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

MARTIN FOLKES (1690-1754) was een Engelse oudheidkundige die in 1714 lid werd van de Royal Society. Hij was een van de vice-presidenten van de Society toen hij dit artikel schreef. De spelling is gemoderniseerd.

Deze Engelstalige tekst is voorgelezen op de vergadering van de Royal Society op 23 januari 1724 O.S., Royal Society, Journal Book, Dl. 13, blz. 345-347 en bevat een lange samenvatting. Het stuk begint met: 'Mr. FOLKES communicated an account of Mr. LEEUWENHOECKS Microscops lately presentd to the Royal Society which was read' en eindigt met, 'Mr. FOLKES had thanks for this account and was desired to permit it to be published.'

LETTER No. L-599 JANUARY 1724

Written by: MARTIN FOLKES.

Manuscript: The manuscript is to be found in London, Royal Society, Classified

papers of the Royal Society CLP.2.17; 7 pages. A copy is in the Register

Book 11.107, p. 416, 8 pages.

#### PUBLISHED IN:

M. FOLKES 1723: "Some account of Mr. Leeuwenhoek's curious Microscopes, lately presented to the Royal Society," *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 32, no. 380, pp. 446-453.

## SUMMARY:

MARTIN FOLKES describes and discusses the cabinet of 26 microscopes, and the specimens attached and listed here, that L. bequeathed to the Royal Society. He also discusses L.'s skill in lens grinding and specimen preparation as essential to his achievements. Because some of L.'s discoveries were confirmed, there is no reason to distrust those that were not.

#### **REMARKS:**

MARTIN FOLKES (1690-1754) was an English antiquarian who became a member of the Royal Society in 1714. He was one of the Society's vice-presidents when he wrote this article. The spelling has been modernized.

The article was read at the meeting of the Royal Society on 23 January 1724 O.S., Royal Society, Journal Book, vol. 13, pp. 345-47, which contains a long summary of the article. It begins, "Mr. FOLKES communicated an account of Mr. LEEUWENHOECKS Microscops lately presentd to the Royal Society which was read," and ended, "Mr. FOLKES had thanks for this account and was desired to permit it to be published."

LETTER No. L-599 JANUARY 1724

It is now above 50 years, since the late Mr. LEEUWENHOEK first began his correspondence with the Royal Society; when he was recommended by Dr. REGNERUS DE GRAAF<sup>1</sup>, as a person already considerable by his microscopical discoveries, made with glasses contrived by himself, and excelling even those of the famous EUSTACHIO DIVINI<sup>2</sup>, so much talked of in the learned world: And as he has ever since that time applied himself, with the greatest diligence and success, to the same sort of observations, no doubt can be made of the excellency of those instruments he so long used, so much improved, and upon the fullest experience so often commended in his letters; great part of which at his decease, he thought fit to bequeath to this society, for whom he ever expressed the greatest esteem and respect.

He had, indeed, intimated this design in several of his letters<sup>3</sup>, and in his last will and testament gave orders<sup>4</sup>, that the glasses should be delivered as soon as conveniently might be after his decease; which was accordingly done, by the directions of his surviving daughter, Mrs. MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK, to whose great care we are obliged, for the safe and speedy delivery of this very curious and valuable present.

The legacy consists of a small Indian cabinet, in the drawers of which are 13 little boxes or cases, each containing two microscopes, handsomely fitted up in silver, all which, not only the glasses, but also the apparatus for managing of them, were made with the late Mr. LEEUWENHOEK's own hands: besides which, they seem to have been put in order in the cabinet by himself, as he designed them to be presented to the Royal Society, each microscope having had an object placed before it, and the whole being accompanied with a register of the same, in his own hand-writing, as being desirous the gentlemen of the Society should, without trouble, be enabled to examine many of those objects, on which he had made the most considerable discoveries.

Several of these objects yet remain before the microscopes though the greater number are broken off, which was probably done by the shaking of the boxes in the carriage. I have, nevertheless, added a translation of the register, as it may serve to give a juster idea of what Mr. LEEUWENHOEK designed by this legacy, and also be of use, by

For Delft physician REGNIER DE GRAAF (1641-1673), see the Biog. Reg., Collected Letters, vol. 1, p. 399.

For Italian lens grinder and maker of telescopes and microscopes EUSTACHIO DIVINI (1620-1695), see the Biog. Reg., idem, vol. 1, p. 399.

In Letter 228 [140] L-392 of 2 August 1701, idem, vol. 14, p. 5, L. writes, "I have a very small black-lacquer and gilt cabinet which contains five small drawers, in which are locked 13 long four-sided tin boxes that I have covered with black leather, and in each of those boxes there are two ground magnifying glasses, thus making 26 magnifying glasses, all of which have been ground by me and are in a silver setting and mounted with silver, most of them with the silver I extracted from mineral and separated from the gold with which it was contaminated; and a note is added about the object standing before each glass. [...] I have ordered my only daughter that after my death this cabinet with the said magnifying glasses, which I will use, shall be sent to you, Your Honours, as a token of my gratitude for the marks of honour I have received from you."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This is not true. In his will of 17 November 1721, L. included only a short paragraph on his microscopes. "It is our wish that all the magnifying glasses [...] shall be shut up and sealed, to be sold in a bundle at some time after the death of the survivor [...] to the satisfaction of the executors, and for the greater benefit of the estate." Stadsarchief Delft, Oud Notarieel Archief, inv. 2415J, fol. 596, JAN DE BRIES, notary. See also BEYDALS, "Twee Testamenten". The sale occurred on 29 May 1647. See REES, *Catalogus van het Vermaarde Cabinet van Vergrootglasen* and ZUIDERVAART & ANDERSON, "Antony van Leeuwenhoek's microscopes and other scientific instruments."

putting any curious observer in mind of a number of minute subjects that may in a particular manner deserve his attention.

The 13 cases abovementioned are numbered from 15 to 27 inclusively, corresponding to which is the register of the objects, two to every case, as follows.

- No. 15. Globules of blood<sup>5</sup>, from which its redness proceeds.

  A thin slice of wood of the lime tree<sup>6</sup>, where the vessels conveying the sap are cut transversely
- $N^{\circ}$ . 16. The eye of a gnat<sup>7</sup>.

round.

- No. 17. A crooked hair, to which adheres a ring-worm8, with a piece of the cuticle.

  A small hair from the hand9, by which it appears those hairs are not
- Nº. 18. Flesh of the codfish¹⁰ (cabeljaeuw) showing how the fibres lie oblique to the membranes.
   An embryo of cochineal¹¹, taken from the egg, in which the limbs and horns are conspicuous.
- No. 19. Small pipes, which compose the elephant's tooth 12.

  Part of the crystalline humour, from the eye of a whale 13.
- Nº. 20. A thread of sheeps-wool<sup>14</sup>, which is broken, and appears to consist of many lesser threads. The instrument, whence a spider spins the threads that compose his wobl<sup>15</sup>
- No. 21. A granade 16, or spark made in striking fire. The vessels in a leaf of tea 17.
- No. 22. The animalcula in semine masculino<sup>18</sup>, of a lamb taken from the testicle, Jul. 24. 1702<sup>19</sup>.
  - A piece of the tongue of a hog<sup>20</sup>, full of sharp points.
- No. 23. A fibre of codfish<sup>21</sup>, consisting of long slender particles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> L. examined blood frequently.

<sup>6</sup> L. frequently examined and experimented with lime trees, but he cut the wood only once. See Letter 257 L-437 of 27 March 1705 to the Royal Society, Collected Letters, vol. 15.

<sup>7</sup> L. frequently dissected gnats, but he mentioned its eyes only once. See Letter 137 [83] L-242 of 30 April 1694 to the Royal Society, idem, vol. 10.

<sup>8</sup> There is no mention of ring-worm in L.'s letters.

<sup>9</sup> L. frequently examined hair on plants and animals. The only observation that a hair was not round came in Letter 224 [137] L-385 of 15 April 1701 to the Royal Society, idem, vol. 13, but it was a hair from his head, not from his hand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> L. examined cod muscles frequently.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See Letter 248 L-422 of 21 March 1704 to the Royal Society, idem, vol. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See Letter 98 [53] L-186 of 4 April 1687 to the Royal Society, *idem*, vol. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See Letter 299 [IV] L-493 of 14 March 1713 to JAN MEERMAN, idem, vol. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See Letter 134 [80] L-239 of 2 March 1694, idem, vol. 10, and Letter 273 L-461 of 22 November 1707, idem, vol. 16, both to the Royal Society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> See Letter 226 [138] L-390 of 21 June 1701 to the Royal Society, *idem*, vol. 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> This reference is unclear. Perhaps a 'pomegranate' is meant here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> See Letter 320 [XIX] L-524 of 18 November 1715 to GOTTFRIED LEIBNIZ, idem, vol. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> animalcula in semine masculino, the little animals in male semen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The only letter after 1702 in which L. writes about lamb testicles is Letter 287 L-480 of 18 August 1711 to JAMES PETIVER, *idem*, vol. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> See Letter 274 L-462 of 6 December 1707 to the Royal Society, ibidem.

LETTER No. L-599 JANUARY 1724

Another of the same.

- N°. 24. A filament, conveying nourishment to the nutmeg<sup>22</sup>, cut transversely. Another piece of the same, in which the figure of the vessels may be seen.
- Nº. 25. Part of the bone or tooth above mentioned, consisting of hollow pipes. An exceeding thin membrane, being that which covered a very small muscle<sup>23</sup>.
- Nº. 26. Vessels by which membranes receive nourishment and increase<sup>24</sup>. A bunch of hair from the insect called a hair-worm<sup>25</sup>.
- N°. 27. The double silk, spun by the worm. The organ of sight of a fly<sup>26</sup>.

It were endless to enter into any particulars of what is to be observed in any of these objects, or indeed to give any account of Mr. LEEUWENHOEK's discoveries; they are so numerous as to make up a considerable part of the *Philosophical Transactions*, and when collected together, to fill four pretty large volumes in quarto, which have been published by him at several times<sup>27</sup>: and of such consequence, as to have opened entirely new scenes in some parts of natural philosophy, as we are all sensible, in that famous discovery of the *animalcula in semine masculino*, which has given a perfectly new turn to the theory of generation, in almost all the authors that have since wrote upon that subject.

For the construction of these instruments, it is the same in them all, and the apparatus is very simple and convenient: They are all single microscopes, consisting each of a very small double convex-glass, let into a socket, between two silver plates rivetted together, and pierced with a small hole: The object is placed on a silver point, or needle, which, by means of screws of the same metal, provided for that purpose, may be turned about, raised, or depressed, and brought nearer, or put farther from the glass, as the eye of the observer, the nature of the object, and the convenient examination of its several parts may require.

Mr. LEEUWENHOEK fixed his objects, if they were solid, to this silver point, with glue; and when they were fluid, or of such a nature as not to be commodiously viewed unless spread upon glass, he first fitted them on a little plate of talk, or excessively thin-blown glass, which he afterwards glued to the needle, in the same manner as his other objects.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> L. examined cod muscles frequently.

L. examined nutmeg in detail in Letter 143 [88] L-251 of 1 May 1695 to ANTHONIE HEINSIUS and Letter 165 [99] L-287 of 8 March 1696 to NICOLAAS WITSEN.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> L. examined muscles and their membranes frequently.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> L. examined membranes frequently.

This reference to a hair worm is unclear. In Letter 126 [76] L-228 of 15 October 1693 to the Royal Society, idem, vol. 9, L. examined the hair on a flea larva, or worm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> L. examined membranes and vessels frequently. n

L. wrote more than 80% of the articles with microscopic observations (104 of 125) published in the first 32 volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions*. See RUSNOCK, *The Correspondence of James Jurin*, Appendix C, pp. 203-09. FOLKES here implies that the letters in the *Philosophical Transactions* fill four quarto volumes. In fact, all of the more than 200 letters that L. wrote to the Royal Society fill four folio volumes in the Society's archives, Early Letters L1 to L4. Note that during his lifetime, L. published 165 letters in Dutch and Latin translation, but only 41 of them were also published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

LETTER NO. L-599 JANUARY 1724

The observation, indeed, of the circulation of the blood, and some others, require a somewhat different apparatus and such a one he had, to which he occasionally fixed these same microscopes; but as it makes no part of this cabinet, I shall omit giving any farther account of it, only taking notice that it may be seen in a letter to the Royal Society of the 12th of January, 1689 and printed in his *Arcana Natura Detecta*, No. 6928. But I was willing to mention just so much, as it may serve to shew the universal use of these microscopes, and as it induces me (among other things) to believe, these were the kind of microscopes generally, if not solely, used by this curious gentleman in all his observations, and to which we are obliged for his most surprizing discoveries.

Another particular, to the same purpose, I would not omit, and that is, that upon the late Queen MARY's doing Mr. LEEUWENHOEK the honour of a visit at Delft, and viewing his curiosities with great satisfaction, he presented her with a couple of his microscopes<sup>29</sup>, which, as I have been informed by one who had them a considerable time in his hands, were of the same sort as these, and did not any ways differ from one of the 13 cases contained in the drawers of this cabinet.

The glasses are all exceedingly clear, and show the object very bright and distinct, which must be owing to the great care this gentleman took, in the choice of his glass, his exactness in giving it the true figure; and afterwards, amongst many, reserving such only for his use, as he, upon trial, found to be most excellent. Their powers of magnifying are different, as different sorts of objects may require; and, as on the one hand, being all ground glasses, none of them are so small, and consequently magnify to so great a degree, as some of those drops, frequently used in other microscopes; yet, on the other, the distinctness of these very much exceeds what I have met with in the glasses of that sort; and this was what Mr. LEEUWENHOEK ever principally proposed to himself, rejecting all those degrees of magnifying in which he could not so well obtain that end; for he informs us in one of his letters, where he is speaking of the excessive praise some give to their glasses on this account, that although he had above forty years had glasses by him of an extraordinary smallness, he had made but very little use of them; as having found, in a long course of experience, that the most considerable discoveries were to be made with such glasses as, magnifying but moderately, exhibited the object with the most perfect brightness and distinction<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Letter 113 [66] L-204 of 12 January 1689, Collected Letters, vol. 8, p. 67. The letter was not published in Philosophical Transactions. Areana Natura Detecta was published in 1695 by L.'s next-door neighbor HENDRIK VAN KROONEVELT (also CRONEVELT).

This visit did not occur. In Letter 124 L-222 of 23 September 1692, idem, vol. 9, p. 171, L. writes, "because Your Majesty, when still in this country, was pleased to vouchsafe to my insignificant person to come personally to the city of my residence, in order to behold my discoveries, which were never so highly valued by me that they should be allowed to appear before the eye of so great a queen; although fortune was then so ill-disposed towards me (which will and must be lamented by me all my life) that owing to my absence from the city, I was not allowed to enjoy the honour of serving Your Majesty with everything that had been in my power, and revealing them to Your Majesty's most keen-sighted eyes."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> In Letter 200 [116] L-356 of 9 June 1699, *idem*, vol. 12, p. 297, L. writes, "As for myself, although glasses of extreme smallness were made by me already about 40 years ago, they are seldom used by me. In my opinion they are not suitable for making important discoveries; for this purpose, those that have been ground with a bigger diameter are better suited."

LETTER NO. L-599 JANUARY 1724

But however excellent these glasses may be judged, Mr. LEEUWENHOEK's discoveries are not entirely to be imputed to their goodness only: His own great judgment, and experience in the manner of using them, together with the continual application he gave to that business, and the indefatigable industry with which he contemplated often and long upon the same subject, viewing it under many and different circumstances, cannot but have enabled him to form better judgments of the nature of his objects, and see farther into their constitution, than it can be imagined any other person can do, that neither has the experience, nor has taken the pains this curious author had so long done.

Nor ought we to forget a piece of skill, in which he very particularly excelled, which was that of preparing his objects in the best manner, to be viewed by the microscope; and of this I am persuaded, anyone will be satisfied, who shall apply himself to the examination of some of the same objects as do yet remain before these glasses; at least, I have myself found so much difficulty in this particular, as to observe a very sensible difference between the appearances of the same object, when applied by myself, and when prepared by Mr. LEEUWENHOEK though viewed with glasses of the very same goodness.

I have the rather insisted upon this, as it may be a caution to us, that we do not rashly condemn any of this gentleman's observations, though even with his own glasses, we should not immediately be able to verify them ourselves. We are under very great disadvantages for want of the experience he had, and he has himself put us in mind, more than once, that those who are the best skilled in the use of magnifying-glasses may be misled, if they give too sudden a judgment upon what they see, or 'till they have been assured from repeated experiments. But we have seen so many, and those of his most surprizing discoveries, so perfectly confirmed, by great numbers of the most curious and judicious observers, that there can surely be no reason to distrust his accuracy in those others, which have not yet been so frequently or carefully examined <sup>31</sup>.

Upon the whole, it is to be hoped, some of the Society will pursue those enquiries, the late possessor of these microscopes was so deservedly famous for; and that as we have lost in Mr. LEEUWENHOEK a most worthy member and a most valuable correspondent, this last piece of his respect to the Royal Society will not only enrich our repository, but both encourage and enable some other diligent observer to prosecute the same curious and useful discoveries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Two decades earlier, Royal Society president JOHN SOMERS made a similar comment in his response to L.'s announcement of the bequest of these 26 microscopes: "Such of them [L.'s observations] as have been tried by any other of their members have been so exactly verified by experiments, that the Society give an entire credit to your relations of matters of fact." See Letter L-395 of 15 November 1701, idem, vol. 20.

BRIEF Nr. L-600 13 JUNI 1724

Gericht aan: ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH.

Geschreven door: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Een contemporaine kopie van deze brief bevindt zich bij de Wellcome

Collection te London, MS. 6143, nr. 7; 1 blz.

## GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), brief 123.

## SAMENVATTING:

JAMES JURIN laat in deze brief aan VAN DEN BERCH weten dat een kapitein TAYLOR hem twee boeken en een zilveren schaal zal overhandigen. Dit als dank van de Royal Society aan MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK voor het geschonken kabinetje met microscopen.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

De datum is Nieuwe Stijl, elf dagen later dan de Oude Stijl-datum van 2 juni 1724 die JURIN in Londen gebruikte.

Zie voor ARNOUD VAN DEN BERCH (1669-1733), Brief L-577 van L. aan JURIN van 13 juni 1722, noot 18, in dit deel. Zie voor JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) en een overzicht van zijn briefwisseling met L. de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 in dit deel.

Het is niet bekend wat er met deze zilveren schaal is gebeurd. Zie de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-601 van 13 juni 1724 in dit deel.

LETTER NO. L-600 13 JUNE 1724

Addressed to: ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH.

Written by: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: A contemporary copy of this letter is to be found in London, Wellcome

Collection, MS. 6143, no. 7; 1 p.

# PUBLISHED IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: *The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750)*, (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), letter 123.

## SUMMARY:

In this letter, JAMES JURIN notifies VAN DEN BERCH that a Captain TAYLOR will deliver two books and a silver bowl to him as a present from the Royal Society to MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

## **REMARKS:**

The date is New Style, which was eleven days ahead of the Old Style date of 2 June 1724 used by JURIN in London. The spelling has been modernized.

For ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH (1669-1733), see Letter L-577 from L. to JURIN of 13 June 1722, n. 13, in this volume. For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) and an overview of his correspondence with L., see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 in this volume.

It is not known what happened to this silver bowl. See the Remarks to Letter L-601 of 13 June 1724, in this volume.

LETTER No. L-600 13 JUNE 1724

London June 2nd 1724

Sir,

Capt TAYLOR, master of the sloop Delight<sup>1</sup>, will deliver to you a box containing two books and a silver bowl, which are a present from the Royal Society to your kinswoman, Mrs Maria van Leeuwenhoek<sup>2</sup> of Delft. I beg you will forward them to her, and am, sir,

Your very humble servant,

J. JURIN, Secr. R.S.

<sup>1</sup> Nothing more has been found about either TAYLOR or the vessel *Delight*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For L.'s daughter MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK (1656-1745), see the Biog. Reg., *Collected Letters*, vol. 2, p. 461 as well as Letter L-601, in this volume.

BRIEF Nr. L-601 13 JUNI 1724

Gericht aan: MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

Geschreven door: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: Een contemporaine kopie van JURINs brief bevindt zich in de Wellcome

Collection, Londen, MS. 6143, nr. 8; 2 blz.

## GEPUBLICEERD IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), brief 124.

## SAMENVATTING:

In opdracht van de Royal Society overhandigt JAMES JURIN aan MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK de twee meest recente delen van de *Philosophical Transactions*, die brieven van haar vader bevatten. Ter nagedachtenis aan haar vader schenkt de Royal Society haar ook een zilveren schaal met daarin gegraveerd het wapen van de Society.

#### OPMERKINGEN:

De datum is Nieuwe Stijl, elf dagen later dan de Oude Stijl-datum van 2 juni 1724 die JURIN in Londen gebruikte.

In deze brief noemt JURIN het geschenk van de Royal Society 'a piece of plate, with their arms engraved upon it', waardoor het onduidelijk is van welk metaal de schaal is gemaakt. Echter, in Brief L-600, die JURIN diezelfde dag schreef aan ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH, noemt JURIN het geschenk 'a silver bowl'. Deze zilveren schaal met daarop gegraveerd het wapenschild van de Royal Society is niet opgenomen in de boedelbeschrijving van MARIA, gemaakt door de Delftse notaris JORIS GEESTERANUS op 26 juni 1745. Zie: Oud Notarieel Archief Delft, inv. 2791, f. 30.

Zie voor Maria van Leeuwenhoek (1656-1745) het Biog. Reg., *Alle de Brieven*, Dl. 2, blz. 460.

Zie voor JAMES JURIN (1684-1750) de Opmerkingen bij Brief L-571 van 5 maart 1722 (gedateerd 22 februari 1722 O.S.) in dit deel.

LETTER NO. L-601 13 JUNE 1724

Addressed to: MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK.

Written by: JAMES JURIN.

Manuscript: A contemporary copy of JURIN's letter is to be found in London,

Wellcome Collection, MS. 6143, no. 8; 2 pp.

## PUBLISHED IN:

A. RUSNOCK, ed. 1996: The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750), (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi), letter 124.

## SUMMARY:

By order of the Royal Society, JAMES JURIN presents MARIA VAN LEEUWENHOEK with the two most recent volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions*, which contain letters by her father. The Royal Society also presents her with a silver plate engraved with their arms in memory of her father.

## **REMARKS:**

The date is New Style, which was eleven days ahead of the Old Style date of 2 June used by JURIN in London. Some of the spelling and punctuation has been modernized.

In this letter, JURIN calls the Royal Society's gift "a piece of plate, with their arms engraved upon it", making it unclear what metal the gift is made of. However, in Letter L-600, which JURIN wrote to ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH that same day, he calls the gift "a silver bowl". This silver bowl with the coat of arms of the Royal Society engraved upon it is not itemized in the inventory of MARIA's estate made by Delft notary JORIS GEESTERANUS on 26 June 1745. See Old Notary Archive Delft, inv. 2791, fol. 30.

For Maria van Leeuwenhoek (1656-1745), see the Biog. Reg., *Collected Letters*, vol. 2, p. 461.

For JAMES JURIN (1684-1750), see the Remarks to Letter L-571 of 5 March 1722 (dated 22 February 1722 O.S.), in this volume.

LETTER NO. L-601 13 JUNE 1724

London June 2d 1724

Madam,

I am ordered by the Royal Society to present you in their name with the two last volumes of Philos. Transactions in which you will find inserted all those papers of your excellent father<sup>1</sup>, which have been transmitted hither, since I had the honour to serve the Society as their Secretary<sup>2</sup>.

They likewise desire your acceptance of a piece of plate, with their arms engraved upon it, with which the Royal Society presents you as a small mark of the esteem & respect which they shall always bear to the memory of their late most valuable & useful member, your worthy father.

The books & plate are put into one box, consigned to your kinsman Mr ARNOUT VAN DEN BERCH<sup>3</sup>, merchant in Rotterdam, & are entrusted to the care of Capt TAYLOR<sup>4</sup>, master of the sloop Delight - by whom I hope they will be safely delivered. I am, with great respect, Madam,

Your most faithful humble servant,

J. JURIN, Secr. R.S.

JURIN, editor of the *Philosophical Transactions*, sent volumes 31 and 32, containing the final fifteen letters with publishable observations from L., dated between January 1720 and August 1723. A sixteenth letter, Letter L-583 of 19 March 1723, in this volume, is lost.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> JURIN was elected secretary in November 1721.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For VAN DEN BERCH, see Letter L-577 of 13 June 1722, n. 13, in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Nothing more has been found about TAYLOR or the vessel *Delight*.

# LIJST VAN AANGEHAALDE WERKEN

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